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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1435

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'POLITYKA' COMMENTS ON POLISH, CZECH SUMMIT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 29, 16 Jul 77 p 9

[Article by Jan Bijak: "On the Moldau and the Danube"]

[Text] Unfortunately, I cannot tell my readers much in addition to what has already been printed in the newspapers in the accounts of reporters and in the official documents of this visit. There was no customary conference for reporters; the members of the delegation, absorbed in their work, did not find time. We know that the talks were not at all an exchange of courteous formulas, that in spite of the earlier efforts of experts, other essential matters were settled and some disputes preceded the signing of a unanimous, cordially worded final document.

The weather was fine; it may even have been too warm and a little muggy. There were a great many people along the delegation's arrival routes, both in Prague and Bratislava. The ceremonies at the airports were the most solemn--with accompanying fighter planes, a red carpet on the pavement, and a volley from a battery of guns set up at the edge of the airport. At the head of the delegations were Edward Gierek and Gustav Husak, in the role of premiers, the acting heads of the communist parties as well as of allied parties and camps. Our delegation was accompanied, additionally, by 11 advisers and experts.

As shown by the speeches, as well as by the joint document during the talks, certain ideological principles of our mutual relations were brought to mind. Both the anniversaries, "in round numbers," of the conclusion of the Agreement on Friendship and Mutual Assistance of 1947, as well as of the Agreement on Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance which came 20 years later, and this year's celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution provided the occasion for these recollections. In the most general terms, a fragment of the speech made by E. Gierek during a dinner in Hradcany, towards the end of the first day of his visit, summarizes this aspect of the talks: "Nothing divides us. Everything unites us: the very same genealogy of our peoples and states, the countless historical connections and our cultural and linguistic similarity; the identity of our governments, the concordance of our national interests and social arguments and the complete convergence of our socialist goals unite us. On the basis of these facts, we should constantly aim towards the ever greater mutual rapprochement of our countries and our fraternal peoples."

Within the sphere of international policy, that mutual rapprochement has reached the level of identification of views. The "complete concordance of views" is mentioned in the document. Within the sphere of bilateral relations, the situation is more complex, and the possibilities continue to be tremendous.

Both Poland and Czechoslovakia occupy for each other the position of number three partner in foreign trade. Trade turnover between our countries have increased nearly tenfold since 1950. In 1975 they totaled a billion rubles, and, in accordance with a long-term agreement, they should reach 6.5 billion rubles in the 5-year period 1976-1980. In the past 5-year period we had a negative balance (export totaled 2 billion rubles and import amounted to 2.1 billion); in this 5-year period we ought to reverse these proportions. The contract for the construction of a power station in Prunerova, in northwestern Bohemia, the largest contract in our trade relations, will have quite a lot of significance for the realization of a positive balance (450 million rubles). Machinery and equipment represent 56 percent of the value of Poland's export to Czechoslovakia and 60 percent of Poland's import from there. These last numbers lead to two conclusions.

First, with such a defined exchange profile, we ought to have multilateral, developed industrial cooperation. But such is not the case, unfortunately. Cooperation deliveries constitute barely one-tenth of the turnovers. And this is happening in a situation in which many establishments share nearly the same wall along the border section, which is the longest for each of the two countries.

The second conclusion is that with such a large share of machinery and equipment in trade turnovers, great possibilities for the development of other fields of exchange must exist. Take the market area, for example. If one observes the display windows of stores selling clothing, footwear, and electrotechnical commodities for the domestic household, and if one makes a comparison with the West, one is struck not so much by the difference in quality as by the meagerness of the variety. This holds true both for Poland and, to a somewhat lesser degree, for our neighbors. And in the meantime we continue to restrict ourselves to the purchase of products lacking on the market, and our footwear industry is horrified that an identical class of imported products will reveal the defects of the domestic product. As a result, for example, boot shops in the centers of our metropolises are threatening the provinces.

I understand that economic integration is the most difficult process, that the different interests of people and enterprises, prejudices and habits are at work on both sides. There are people here and there who approach our mutual collaboration with skepticism.

At the highest level, what can be done today is being done. Plans for the future are being drawn up much more ambitiously. During the talks on the Moldau and the Danube, the possibility of the growth of turnovers beyond the level called for by the long-term agreement was considered. But particular emphasis was placed on preparations for the long-range development of the economic collaboration of Poland and Czechoslovakia in accordance with the long-term programs of

the entire CEMA agreement. For the next 2-3 years, the convened organs are to work on this task to insure that the next 5-year period is planned for opportu-
tunely and more harmoniously. Emphasis is to be placed on collaboration in the
field of fuels, raw materials and other materials for production and on cooper-
ation and specialization in the machinery industry, especially in order to meet
the needs of mining, the ironworks, chemistry and transport. The document on
collaboration also instructs the convened bodies to examine the possibility of
expanding production and the exchange of market goods as well as to work out a
joint concept of the management of the border districts, also with a view to-
wards tourism and the protection of the environment.

I do not wish to abuse the formula that we are entering a new or higher phase in
Polish-Czech relations. I simply think that developmental necessities and the
level already attained by both countries dictate a new approach to the problem
of economic collaboration. But this will be a continuous process, without
miraculous remedies and abrupt advances. The latest visit of the polish dele-
gation in Prague and Bratislava surely brings us closer to such a rational,
structural rapprochement. "We are convinced," said Comrade G. Husak at the
farwell meeting in the Palace of Congresses, "that the results of this visit will
contribute greatly to the strengthening of the traditional friendship between
our peoples, to the intensification and further development of the closest
possible collaboration between our parties and countries."

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ALBANIA

ROLE OF PENAL CODE IN PROTECTING SOCIALISM CITED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Jun 77 pp 2-3

[Article by Lumturi Resnja, woman member of the Supreme Court of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: "The Penal Code--a Powerful Weapon for Further Strengthening the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"]

[Text] The penal code adopted in the sixth session of the eighth legislature of the People's Assembly, is another document of special judicial, political and ideological importance for our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the defense of the victories won in the political, social, state and economic fields.

The Seventh Party Congress set important tasks for further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat as a vital matter for the fate of the revolution and socialism in Albania. "The experience in revolution and the construction of socialism in Albania," said Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Party Congress, "confirms that the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed by the working class to suppress the resistance of the class enemies, old and new, and their efforts toward restoration; it is needed in order to confront the external danger both from the aggressive aims of the imperialists and social-imperialists to throttle and destroy the socialist order with fire and iron, by blockade and hunger, and from the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world, which is daily unleashing against us waves of degeneration and counterrevolution."

In accordance with the valuable teachings of our party and Comrade Enver, we have built up our socialist legislation, which during the whole period since the country's liberation has served to strengthen the political and economic base of our state. The penal code, as a part of that legislation, providing for the punishment of socially dangerous actions, has been and is an important means in the hands of the working class and the working masses for defending and carrying to the end the victories of the revolution. With the object of adapting it and making it always subservient to the economic base, the socialist relations in production, the penal code has undergone changes again and again in the direction of improvement and perfection.

Every since the adoption of the former penal code 25 years ago, colossal transformations have been effected in our country, and great victories, unparalleled in the history of our people, which have changed the face of our socialist fatherland and opened up brilliant prospects for the full construction of the socialist society, have been won in all fields. The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a living reflection of the great revolutionary changes and the high stage of all-around economic and social development of socialist Albania. It is the basis and source of our socialist legislation. In speaking of this matter in the report on the draft of the constitution to the People's Assembly, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The new constitution will be the principal source and base of our future legislation. Its adoption must mark the point of departure of a new effort to further improve the principal laws of the state. These include, above all, the various codes, which have played an important role, but which have now been superseded in some respects, and therefore must be revised so as to respond better to the demands of the present phase."

Hence also the need to draft a new penal code, since the existing one, in spite of the great role that it has played, has been superseded in many respects.

The correct policy of the Workers' Party of Albania, as the only force leading our socialist state, runs like a red thread through the new penal code from beginning to end. The defense of the party's leading role and its Marxist-Leninist ideology in the fight against antisocialist and antisocial acts is the outstanding feature of the new penal code. It is not just the form which distinguishes it from the bourgeois and revisionist codes and gives it its originality, but, above all, its partisanship, the socialist content of the norms and provisions which it contains and the socialist relationships which it defends, that make it an important means and a sharp weapon in the hands of the working class to defend and keep ever pure the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The penal code is the first important law after the constitution, with which began the work of improving legislation as a whole in accordance with the orders and teachings of the Seventh Party Congress. The adoption of this important law is another expression of our socialist democracy and the practical and consistent application by our party of the Marxist-Leninist principle of developing the class struggle and executing the mass line. Article 1 of that law says: "The penal legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania expresses the will of the working class and the other working masses, and is a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the class struggle."

All the victories of our people have been won through a hard class struggle against internal and external enemies, who have tried by every means to hurt us and impede us in our revolutionary course. They have always sought primarily to strike at the dictatorship of the proletariat and its leadership,

the Workers' Party of Albania. Precisely for this reason, Article 2 of that law says that penal legislation has the task of defending the Workers' Party of Albania as the only political force of the state and society.

In this hard class struggle with enemies of all colors, the penal code has played an important role in defending and strengthening the socialist order and in preserving and strengthening its economic and political base, socialist wealth, the rights and interests of the citizens and the whole socialist social order.

Our party has never concealed the class character of its socialist justice, of which the penal legislation is also a part. Marxism-Leninism, on which our party is based, in penal legislation, as in everything else, teaches us that the state and justice originate in a specific period of the economic development of society. They are closely linked to one another. Justice originates together with the state and to serve it in performing its functions. On the basis of these teachings and the experience in the struggle and work of the party and our people, our construction of socialism has been achieved through a hard class struggle against the overthrown classes, which have tried to regain lost positions; against external and internal enemies and against all-around ideological influence and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

In contrast to the views of the bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians, who are making every effort to conceal the class character of the justice prevailing in their countries and the interests which it defends, our party, adhering always to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, teaches us that the penal laws of the bourgeois and revisionist states, like their justice as a whole, do nothing else but defend the political power of the minority and the economic exploitation of the majority of the people.

Proceeding from these teachings, our penal code clearly indicates the class character of penal action, according to which any act is socially dangerous that is directed against the socialist state, the Workers' Party of Albania, socialist wealth, against a person, his rights and interests and the whole socialist social order. This same class character also clearly and faithfully permeates the penal code in the provisions having to do with the punishment of penal acts. The provision relating to punishment reflects the teachings of Comrade Enver in describing punishment as a means of compulsion having a political and ideological character employed by the socialist state in the class struggle.

Penal punishment, as a form of compulsion by the state, is necessary against all those who attempt by their antisocialist and antisocial acts to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and impede our revolutionary victories, and against all other elements that violate the laws of the state. But it is also at the same time a means of educating the wavering elements of society who are easily guided or influenced by bourgeois and revisionist ideologies.

The new penal code, as a logical continuation of the existing penal code, built on the basis of the new conditions in our country and the new stage in the all-around economic and social development of our country, is, like the former code, guided by the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver that the class struggle under socialism, too, is an objective phenomenon, a primary motivating force advancing the revolution and the construction of socialism, defending the party, the state and the whole country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, purging the consciousness of the workers and strengthening their proletarian spirit.

From this viewpoint, crime in our country is not a typical and inevitable phenomenon. The fact that it has been constantly decreasing during these years of the people's rule, and that our country knows no organized and professional crime like that to be found in the capitalist and revisionist countries, perfectly confirms the correctness of the line followed by our party in its fight against it.

However, as the party teaches us, the real danger of imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its continual pressure on our country, then existence within our society of rotten individuals with remnants of the old and new reactionary ideologies and, as a consequence of them, the danger of the degeneration of certain elements and their conversion into counterrevolutionaries and elements without consciousness causes us to be ever vigilant and to carry on a determined and principled fight to defend and keep pure the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

Through the penal code, the dictatorship of the proletariat strikes hard at crimes involving increased social danger, such as murder, robbery, theft, indecent behavior in society and other antisocial and antisocialist acts which, though by no means representing a general characteristic for our socialist society (they are quite exceptional and alien), are encountered here and there as a result of the all-around pressure and influence of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and the remnants of the old reactionary ideology in the minds of particular individuals. Our party has never underestimated the danger resulting from those influences. Despite the false propaganda of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists about "liberty" and "pure democracy" in their countries, it suffices to cast a glance at the figures and facts which they affirm with their own mouths, through the press and television broadcasts, to discover the profound contradictions that are gnawing from within the social systems in those countries, accompanied by severe political crises. Organized and professional crime, murder, robbery, organized theft, the violation of women and girls and other serious crimes of a fascist character are in the nature of their fascist dictatorship; they daily engulf the lives of hundreds and hundreds of simple and blameless persons who live in complete insecurity, under the fear of threats from gangs operating openly in broad daylight. Crime in the capitalist-revisionist world is one of the clearest indications of the inevitable rottenness of that social system.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has struck forcefully at all those who have attempted and are attempting to impair, even in the slightest, our revolutionary victories, our freedom and socialist democracy and our socialist judicial system. Guarantees of this are the correct leadership of our party, the moral-political unity of the people with the party and their revolutionary successes in the socialist construction of the country. The penal code provides a number of steps for punishing all penal actions that impair the security of the socialist judicial system.

Bureaucratism and liberalism, as the party teaches us, are always serious dangers, and the fight against them remains ever timely for the defense and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party and, under its leadership, the working masses have waged a determined fight against such manifestations to keep pure the revolutionary class character of our rule, its ties with the people and the state apparatus. Reflecting these valuable teachings, the penal code considers it a duty to defend the socialist state from bureaucratism and liberalism as the two principal dangers to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Likewise to insure the normal activity of our state apparatus, a number of other provisions in the penal code punish all penal acts by officials who abuse the confidence reposed in them by the people and the party and fail to perform the assigned tasks properly.

The penal code, as a means of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat, is also a strong preventive weapon for eliminating from the life of our socialist society many antisocial and antisocialist acts. It is precisely for this reason that Article 1 of the penal code states that penal law has the duty to aid in educating the citizens in a spirit of respect for socialist legality.

Education of the citizens in a spirit of respect for socialist legality is a permanent duty of our state organs and social organizations, under the leadership of the party. Knowledge and precise execution of the laws of our state on the part of every worker in our state apparatus and every citizen will eliminate the commission of penal acts by certain individuals, shape a socialist judicial consciousness in our people and preserve and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to advance the full construction of the socialist society.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHARTER 77 DOCUMENTS NOS 7, 8, 9, 10

Rome LISTY in Czech No 3-4, Jul 77 pp 58-66

[Text] Document No 7

Since the introduction of Charter 77 we have been encountering critical examination of social and economic rights. We think it will serve a purpose to summarize it in this document.

Both pacts on which the Charter is based are inspired by the democratic ideal of a free human being. In that context we consider it proper to emphasize that the ideal of man's liberation from fear and poverty has always had its most radical defender in the international workers movement, which has formulated those rights in the most progressive form. The ultimate objective of the socialist movement has always been the creating of conditions under which working people will not have to sell their labor. The effort to achieve that goal of complete liberation of labor, however, has not eliminated the simple and always timely demand that a man coming to the labor market should be able to sell his labor under the most favorable conditions; that he should have the right not only to work in the narrow sense of the word, but to choose his work freely; that he should receive wages for his work that will guarantee a decent standard of living for his family; that he should have the right to negotiate his wages and working conditions as an equal partner; that he should have the right to organize the struggle for wages and other demands even inside the factory or at any other place of work; that he should have the right to organize labor unions with an opportunity for independent activity, etc.

All those demands have been legalized in the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (see SBIRKA ZAKONU [Collection of Laws] of the CSSR No 120/76 Sb) which became a part of the Czechoslovak legal code.

We, the signatories of Charter 77, citizens of various political convictions, have in common our approval of the provisions of that pact. On the basis of our analyses we have concluded that the situation of the economic and social rights in Czechoslovakia demands an unbiased evaluation, and we wish to provide an impetus with this document.

1. One of the most important articles of the Pact speaks of the right to work which is "freely chosen or accepted" by man (article 6). We frequently encounter the claim that this right has been implemented in Czechoslovakia and that, unlike under capitalism, there is no unemployment in our country. It is true that the Czechoslovak working people have created economic conditions which removed overt unemployment; in this respect the working people have greater social security than those in other developed countries. This, however, was gained at a price which was not necessary for the elimination of unemployment: the efficiency of our national economy has been reduced and extensive covert unemployment created, which appears in the great number of obsolete institutions and jobs that could have been eliminated long ago in view of the current level of technology and labor organization.

At the same time this situation is accompanied by the actual obligation to be employed, by the restriction of the right to choose, cancel and change labor relations, and by possible legal prosecution of the citizen who fails to comply in this respect with the strict and steadily increasing demands of the state. The state is actually a monopolistic employer; the assembly of working people in trade unions is being restricted more and more, and the trade unions themselves are being administered increasingly by state organs. The opportunity to freely choose work is an indivisible part of the right to work; and it is this aspect of the right to work which is insufficiently advanced by current practices and by the labor code. In recent years the labor laws and practices have even undergone a deterioration in this respect.

2. The International Pact has also stipulated the right to a just reward for work which should be sufficient to provide "a decent life for the family" (article 7). However, this interpretation of the right to just wages is almost illusory in Czechoslovakia because only rarely can one breadwinner provide a decent living standard for the whole family.

This is why employment of women in Czechoslovakia is high, in fact, one of the highest in the world. Practically everybody, however, is aware that this is a virtue born of necessity. Most women do not work because they desire greater self-fulfillment and independence in life but because of economic pressure, dire necessity, because the husband's income fails to provide a decent living for the family. Therefore, in this respect the almost general employment of women indicates a higher degree of oppression rather than emancipation.

Women are also discriminated against in respect to job assignments and wages. Various published data from the first half of the 1970's have demonstrated that on the average women's wages are one-third lower than those of men. As a rule, the branches with the majority of female workers offer sub-standard wages. At the same time, the decision whether a particular job should be filled by a man or a woman is usually an official matter. Working conditions in those sectors where women play a particularly important role (light industry, retail business, agriculture) are far from satisfactory. It is there that the intensity of work often appears on the borderline of human capacities.

The social situation of women is aggravated also by systematic disregard for the development of services and especially by the steady price increases for every type of service, which have existed practically as long as the current social system. The chronic problems in the market regarding the supply of a wide variety of goods are notorious. While the type of goods which are in short supply change from time to time, the problem itself remains unchanged.

The official women's organization does not point to these facts--or else it does so half-heartedly; it does not put any really relevant pressure on the legislative or administrative powers to obtain a remedy. Instead, it focuses its energies on trying to present direct and indirect proof that the problem of women's equality has already been solved completely in Czechoslovakia and that equal rights for men and women (article 3) simply have been insured. To establish another organization that would truly defend the interests and rights of women has been made impossible, however, by the legal formulation of the right of assembly.

3. Discrimination against women as compared to men, however, is not the only expression of discrimination in wages. The trend to discriminate against whole groups of working people may be observed in the rewards favoring the young over the old, the blue-collar workers over the white-collar workers, in the rewards for some highly qualified groups as compared with the unskilled, in the evaluation of sectors, etc.

A widespread and very demoralizing symptom of discrimination in rewards is the so-called personal evaluation of work which favors one's political involvement to the detriment of professional skills and work performance. It is unnecessary to prove that this practice is in contradiction, among other things, to the right "to equal opportunity for all to be promoted in employment to an appropriately higher level, at which no other criteria except the period of employment and skill will be applied" (article 7). The aforementioned controversy is all the more evident because the criteria of so-called political involvement are miles away from real social needs.

This practice is reflected sharply in the area of labor management in the form of cadre nomenclature and cadre ceilings, in the form of arbitrary preference for some individuals (particularly members of the Communist Party) and unjust discrimination against others, etc. As a result of this mechanism of reward and selection of individuals, the economic system and professional management in general are part of the power-political apparatus, and their function is deformed. The principal emphasis is not put on work but on the need to protect and secure the regime; the criteria of evaluation and reward of leading workers focus on what is irrelevant for really optimal choices and performance. After all, the fate of the people who have been forced for political reasons to leave their jobs and who are now performing work not corresponding to their qualifications is only an extreme symptom of this widespread practice.

4. Not only the practices of the trade union movement but also the legal norms pertaining to assembly in trade unions are in contradiction to the trade organizations' right "to independent activity" (article 8) because they do not recognize that "everybody has the right to establish trade unions" and "the right to join trade unions of one's own choice" (article 8, paragraph a). In trade unions decisions are made not by the workers and rank-and-file employees but by the economic and other apparatus. The role played by trade unions over long decades in the defense of the working people's vital interests has been practically completely erased. It was forgotten long ago that in the first years after World War II, there existed, in addition to the trade unions, plant councils as organs of the working people themselves, with broad legal powers; they functioned as production management and imposed political and socioeconomic activities. It is also forgotten that the post [1948] May plant councils were revived to an extent as working people's councils in 1968.*

Trade unions have not tried to involve broad strata of the working people in wage policies--whether on a local or a societywide scale. They permit such policies to be determined from above; whenever the working people have objected to the reduction of their wages (for example, during the reorganization of the wage system in 1973-1975), the unions have not supported them. If the workers go on strike (which does not happen very often in view of the risk of prosecution, which is in contradiction to the right to strike) they betray them. Trade unions are not even striving to get the government to determine a minimum living standard which would be updated annually and on the basis of which the minimum wage would be established.

The trade union organs have at their disposal various data on labor safety and the working people's living conditions in general. They have at their disposal data on the actual reduction of real wages through covert and overt price increases, and mismanagement in housing has been frequently pointed out to them. Nevertheless, they do not exert pressure for fundamental solutions. Instead of fighting for their right to participate in any relevant economic decision, they retreat from the field and thus bear equal responsibility for the decisions of the system.

Trade unions are participating in moralistic crusades for the full utilization of working hours, but they do not represent the real opinions and interests of the working people on this question. The truth, which everybody knows, is that, as concerns the utilization of working hours, the working hour in Czechoslovakia is perhaps the shortest in the world; in fact, during

* Sociological research conducted in 1969 presented proof of the workers attitude toward work at that time:

work was enjoyed	before August 1968	after August 1968
much more than before	46.8 percent	0.9 percent
slightly more	20.1 percent	2.6 percent
no difference	21.0 percent	11.3 percent
slightly less	4.9 percent	14.2 percent
much less	3.1 percent	68.1 percent
don't know, don't remember	4.2 percent	2.8 percent

the basic working time much less work is done than could be, frequently with the tacit consent of the supervisor. At the same time, however, everybody knows that if the overtime and work on Saturday and Sunday are counted, the Czechoslovak working people have one of the longest workweeks, at least in Europe. This paradox is not at all accidental. It is the result of a spontaneous effort on the part of the working people to obtain just rewards by means which to them seem the easiest in the given situation--under conditions of generally low quality of management and labor organization. That is the reason an average worker saves his energy and does not perform as he might. He applies his "conserved" energy during overtime or sells it on the black market (in fact, it is there that a great demand is evident for all kinds of services). In most workers' professions reimbursement for overtime has become a significant part of the wages.

The trade union organization does not take any effective stand on this complex national economic problem, although a great many options are available as to how all members could participate in assessing the real duration of the working time and the possibilities of its reduction to at least the legal time of 42 1/2 hours or even to a lower level, while retaining current wages or even increasing them (in some sectors).

However, to expect trade unions which have become an appendage of the economic apparatus to defend the working people's right to a just reward and to develop a radical initiative in that direction obviously would be unrealistic. This observation, however, should not provide an alibi for all those who have any interest in this matter, for every "individual with a duty to others and to the society to which he belongs has the obligation to strive for development of and compliance with the observation of the rights recognized in this Pact" (Preamble of the Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

Critical comments addressed to the trade unions could be augmented by several other points, each of which could be elaborated further than we have done. The same applies to all the other issues which we have raised. This applies also to many other problems appearing in this area of social life: the right to safe and protected work, the questions of commuting to work and personal transportation in general, problems of health services, the right of choices in cultural life and control of culture, problems of deteriorating environment and protection of nature, etc. These actual problems may be resolved only by publicizing and discussing them. To remain silent about them or, on the contrary, to exaggerate the achievement only intensifies the accumulated conflicts and aggravates the disagreeable situation. Therefore, it will be the task of Charter 77 to prepare critical analyses of areas in our social, economic and cultural life and to present them for societywide discussions.

In connection with numerous questions we may also note many positive phenomena, particularly as compared with the past. The heart of the matter, however, is not the extent of the positive and negative aspects in the area of economic and social rights, but our approach to them. We consider

it our civic duty to express our objections to the opinion that the working man in our country enjoys full social freedom, and our objection to the view that all his rights have been insured and that, especially because of the implementation of the right to work and some other fundamental social rights, all other rights--primarily political rights and democratic freedoms--have lost their significance.

It is true that the working man is no longer selling his labor on the capitalist market of the old type. Nevertheless, that does not mean that all his rights are automatically being respected. Only the working people themselves can guarantee these interests and rights. If this particular task of the working people is restricted, curtailed or even canceled by the denial of their civil and political rights, this unavoidably results in a negative trend throughout the entire social and economic field. In agreement with the pact on social and economic rights, we are convinced that the "ideal of a free human being, liberated from fear and poverty, may be achieved only if conditions are created where everyone can enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights" (Preamble to the Pact).

We wish to stress with the same urgency that the objective and meaning of socialism is not the mere guarantee of social rights and securities but the comprehensive development of man as a free being--liberation of man in the most profound and most substantial sense of the word. To achieve that objective much more will have to be done. That would be true even if we enjoyed social and economic rights in Czechoslovakia not only to a much higher extent than at present but actually to the extent guaranteed by the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Prague, 8 March 1977

[Signed] Prof. Dr. Jan Patocka

[Signed] Prof. Dr. Jiri Hajek

Document No 8

Below we present a comprehensive list of 617 citizens who have expressed support for the declaration of Charter 77 of 1 January 1977 and wished to have their names published. This list is incomplete because numerous names were not delivered to the Charter 77 spokesmen owing to various circumstances and interventions.

Prague, 9 March 1977

[Signed] Prof. Dr. Jan Patocka

[Signed] Prof. Dr. Jiri Hajek

AIXNER, Pavel (independent professional worker)
 ALBERT, Libor (blue-collar worker)
 AUBRECHT, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
 BALAK, Stanislav ScC (university lecturer)
 BALEK, Ivan (blue-collar worker)
 BALABAN, Milan (clergyman)
 BARTA, Zdenek (clergyman)
 BARTOSEK, Karel Dr ScC (historian)
 BARTOSEK, Zdenek (blue-collar worker)
 BASTA, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
 BATTEK, Rudolf Eng (sociologist)
 BAUER, Edmund (clergyman)
 BEDNAR, Jan (student)
 BEDNAR, Jiri (electrician)
 BEDNARIK, Josef (blue-collar worker)
 BEDNAROVA, Otká (journalist)
 BELANT, Jindrich (locksmith)
 BELIKOVA, Jarmila (psychologist)
 BELOHOUBEK, Antonin Eng (technician)
 BENDA, Vaclav Dr (philosopher and mathematician)
 BENES, Frantisek (creative artist)
 BENETKOVA, Marie (housewife)
 BENYSEK, Zbynek (creative artist)
 BERANEK, Jan Dr (historian)
 BIDLASOVA, Jitka (white-collar worker)
 BINAR, Ivan (teacher)
 BISEK, Tomas (clergyman)
 BLAHA, Frantisek Prof. Dr. (physician)
 BLATTNY, Pavel (artist)
 BLAZA, Pavol Dr. (philosopher)
 BLAZIK, Alexandr Jr. (doorman)
 BLAZKA, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
 BLAZKOVA, Marie (housewife)
 BOHACEK (blue-collar worker)
 BOK, Jan (white-collar worker)
 BOKOVA, Antonie Eng. (political scientist)
 BORES, Jiri
 BORESOVA, Lida (retired)
 BORSKY, Jaroslav (former state official)
 BOTOVA, Antonie (programmer)
 BOUSE, Zdenek Bonaventura (clergyman)
 BRABEC, Jiri Dr. (literary historian)
 BRABENEC, Vratislav (musician)
 BRAHA, Vladimir Eng. (blue-collar worker)
 BRAHOVA, Eva (white-collar worker)
 BRIKCIUS, Eugen (independently employed)
 BROD, Toman Dr. ScC (historian)
 BRODSKA, Daniela (clergywoman)
 BRODSKY, Petr (clergyman)

BRUNCLIK, Tomas (philosopher)
 BUKOVANSKA, Helena (creative artist)
 BURES, Jaroslav Eng. (economist)
 BURES, Karel (technical employee)
 BREZINA, Ales (messenger)
 BUDIN, Stanislav Eng. (journalist)
 CEDRYCH, Michal (student)
 CERMAN, Ladislav (blue-collar worker)
 CIHELKA, Vladimir (blue-collar worker)
 CIEHOVA, Daniela (white-collar worker)
 CISAROVSKY, Josef Dr. (art critic)
 COHORNA, Viktor (retired)
 CECRDLE, Milos (blue-collar worker)
 CECH, Vlado (programmer)
 CECHOVA, Miluse (psychologist)
 CEJKA, Karel Eng. (technician)
 CERNA-FILIPOVA, Miroslava (journalist)
 CERNY, Otto (blue-collar worker)
 CERNY, Vaclav Prof. Dr. honorary doctor (literary historian)
 CIERNY, Egon (historian)
 CIHAK, Stanislav Dr. (philosopher)
 CUTKA, Jiri Dr. (scientist)
 DANECKOVA, Vera (blue-collar worker)
 DANICEK, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
 DAUBNER, Juraj (philologist)
 DEDECIUS, Karel (blue-collar worker)
 DEDECIUS, Miroslav (blue-collar worker)
 DEJMAL, Ivan (gardener)
 DIENSTBIER, Jiri (journalist)
 DIENSTBIEROVA, Zuzana (psychologist)
 DIVIS, Vaclav (clergyman)
 DOBESOVA, Blanka (librarian)
 DOBRA, Jana (display designer)
 DOBROVSKY, Lubos (journalist)
 DOBROVSKY, Petr Eng. (technician)
 DOHNAL, Jindrich, Eng. (economist)
 DOLEJS, Antonin (mechanic)
 DOLEZAL, Bohumil (literary critic)
 DOLEZAL, Jiri Dr. Scs (historian)
 DOLEZAL, Josef (former state official)
 DOUCHA, Jaroslav (plumber)
 DROZDOVA, Ruzena (journalist)
 DUBSKA, Irena Dr. university lecturer, (philosopher)
 DUBSKY, Ivan Dr. (philosopher)
 DUCHON, Ivan (blue-collar worker)
 DVORAK, Ladislav (writer)
 DVORAK, Jaroslav (technician)
 DVORAK, Vladimir (boiler attendant)
 DYMACEK, Michael (mathematician)
 DZIACEK, Michal (blue-collar worker)
 EFFENBERGER, Vratislav Dr. (esthetician)
 FABERA, Jan

FABERA, Jaroslav (watchmaker)
FAROVA, Anna (art historian)
FEIGEL, Miroslav (blue-collar worker)
FIC, Jaroslav (technician)
FISCHEROVA, Antonie (retired)
FISCHEROVA, Miluse (former political worker)
FLADR, Milos (sociologist)
FORMANEK, Petr (musician)
FORMANKOVA, Eva Dr. (editor)
FORT, Zdenek (journalist)
FREUND, Karel (blue-collar worker)
FRIDRICH, Karel Eng. (economist)
FRODL, Jiri (journalist)
GEUSSOVA, Milena (white-collar worker)
GLANC, Jan (blue-collar worker)
GOESSL, Gabriel (blue-collar worker)
HAIT, Josef Eng. (technician)
HAJEK, Jiri Prof. Dr. ScDr (former foreign minister)
HAJEK, Milos ScC university lecturer (historian)
HANAK, Jiri (journalist)
HANEL, Olaf (creative artist)
HANZELKA, Jiri Eng. (writer)
HAVEL, Vaclav (writer)
HAVLIK, Jaroslav (employee of Unified Agricultural Cooperative)
HAVRANEK, Josef
HEJDA, Vaclav (former state official)
HEJDA, Zbynek (writer)
HEJDANEK, Ladislav Dr. (philosopher)
HEJL, Vilem (writer)
HELESIC, Frantisek Dr. ScC (scientist)
HERMACH, Jiri Eng. ScC, university lecturer (philosopher)
HERMAN, Pavel (blue-collar worker)
HLAVAC, Pavel (clergyman)
HLAVACEK, Ludvik (art historian)
HLAVACKOVA, Vera (student)
HIRSAL, Josef (writer)
HODIC, Josef Dr. (historian)
HOLUBOVA, Miloslava Dr. (art historian)
HORAK, Robert (political worker)
HORAKOVA, Milada (service employee)
HORCIK, Emil (assistant laborer)
HORNY, Vladislav (blue-collar worker)
HORINEK, Milan
HOSEK, Milan Eng. (former state official)
HOUSKA, Karel (office worker)
HRABAN, Miroslav Jr. (assistant designer)
HRABINA, Jan (bill-poster)
HRABKOVA, Jirina (journalist)
HRADILEK, Tomas Eng.

HROMADKO, Oldrich Eng. Dr. (former colonel of National Security Corps)
HROMADKOVA, Alena Eng. ScC (sociologist)
HROMADKOVA, Marie (former political worker)
HRUSKA, Karel (blue-collar worker)
HRUSKA, Milos (blue-collar worker)
HUDSKY, Antonin (blue-collar worker)
HUEBL, Milan ScC university lecturer (historian)
HYNDRAK, Vaclav Dr. (historian)
CHALUPECKY, Frantisek (blue-collar worker)
CHRAMOSTOVA, Vlasta artist laureate (actress)
CHUDOZILOV, Petr (writer)
ILEK, Miroslav (blue-collar worker)
INNEMANN, Frantisek (blue-collar worker)
JANYR, Premysl (blue-collar worker)
JARON, Rudolf (journalist)
JAROS, Karel Dr. ScC (former political worker)
JAROS, Oldrich Dr. (historian)
JAROSOVA, Vera Dr. university lecturer (historian)
JELINKOVA, Marie (retired)
JICINSKY, Zdenek Prof. Dr. ScDr (lawyer)
JILEK, Otakar Eng. (economist)
JINA, Tomas (technician)
JIRA, Antonin (blue-collar worker)
JIRA, Jaroslav Eng. (technician)
JIRACEK, Karel (former state official)
JIRANEK, Frantisek Dr. university lecturer (educator)
JIROUNEK, Miroslav (blue-collar worker)
JIROUSOVA, Vera (art historian)
JIRU, Jaroslav ScC (historian)
JODL, Miroslav Dr. ScC (sociologist)
JOHN, Josef Dr. (lawyer)
JOHNOVA, Jarmila Eng. (economist)
JUDL, Jiri Eng. (technician)
JUNEK, Libor (blue-collar worker)
JURACEK, Pavel (film director)
JURNIK, Alois (stock-keeper)
JUST, Jan (blue-collar worker)
KABELKA, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
KABES, Petr (writer)
KABICEK, Rudolf Dr. (psychologist)
KADERKA, Oldrich (lawyer and politician)
KADLEC, Miroslav Prof. Dr. (economist)
KADLEC, Vladimir Prof. Dr. (economist and politician)
KADLECOVA, Erika Dr. ScC (sociologist)
KADLECOVA, Jindra (librarian)
KAMIS, Antonin (blue-collar worker)
KANYIA, Walter (driver)
KANTURKOVA, Eva (writer)
KAPEK, Jan (technician)

KARASEK, Svatopluk (clergyman)
KARLIKOVA, Olga (painter)
KASAL, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
KASE, Jakub (white-collar worker)
KASIK, Vladimir Prof. Dr. (historian)
KAUTMAN, Frantisek Dr. ScC (literary historian)
KAVIN, Ludvik (former political worker)
KAYSER, Milan (blue-collar worker)
KAYSEROVA, Marianna (white-collar worker)
KAZIK, Josef (blue-collar worker)
KELLER, Jan (clergyman)
KELLEROVA, Marta (housewife)
KINDL, Jan (dispatcher)
KLANSKY, Mojmir (journalist)
KLIMENT, Alexandr (writer)
KLIPA, Bohumil Dr. ScC (historian)
KLOFAC, Jaroslav Prof. Dr. ScD (sociologist)
KLOKOCA, Vladimir Dr. university lecturer (lawyer)
KOCAB, Alfred Eng. (clergyman)
KOCUREK, Jiri Dr. (psychologist)
KOCOVA-FREUNDOVA, Zina (student)
KOHOUT, Lubos Dr. ScC university lecturer (political scientist)
KOHOUT, Pavel (writer)
KOHSOVA, Vilma (blue-collar worker)
KOLAR, Jiri (writer and creative artist)
KOLMISTR, Ladislav Eng. (former political worker)
KOMARKOVA, Bozena Dr. (educator)
KOMASKO, Alexandr (technician)
KOMEDA, Vaclav V. Dr (historian)
KONUPEK, Michael Dr. (philologist)
KOPECEK, Pavel (writer)
KOPTA, Petr (translator)
KORBELA, Frantisek (clergyman)
KORBELIK, Jan (public health worker)
KORBELIK, Miroslav Jr. (doorman)
KORCIS, Vavinec Jr (blue-collar worker)
KORCIS, Vavinec Sr. (electrician)
KOROPTVICKA, Jan (creative artist)
KORINEK, Jiri Dr. (economist)
KOS, Vladimir (white-collar worker)
KOSTKOVA, Pavla (white-collar worker)
KOSTROUN, Karel Dr. (literary historian)
KOTLAS, J. Eng.
KOUBA, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
KOUBA, Petr (painter)
KOUDELA, Jan (white-collar worker)
KOUDELOVA, Alena (white-collar worker)
KOUTNA, Anna (white-collar worker)
KOUTNY, Bohumil (white-collar worker)
KOVARIK, Karel (former political worker)

KOZAK, Vaclav (technician)
KOZLIK, Jan (supervisory technician)
KRAL, Milan (blue-collar worker)
KRAL, Miloslav Eng. university lecturer (scientist)
KRAMER, Alexandr (journalist)
KRATOCHVIL, Bohumil
KRAUS, Karel (translator)
KREJCI, Jaroslav Dr. ScC (historian)
KREJCI, Karoslav Jr. (fisherman)
KREJCI, Petr Eng. (researcher)
KREJCI, Tatjana (nurse)
KRIEDEL, Frantisek Dr. (physician and politician)
KROB, Andrej (blue-collar worker)
KROUL, Vladimir (retired)
KROUPA, Daniel (editor)
KRUPA, Karel (blue-collar worker)
KRUPICKA, Vladislav (blue-collar worker)
KRELINA, Jan (blue-collar worker)
KREN, Jan Dr. ScD university lecturer (historian)
KRIVSKY, Jiri (boiler attendant)
KRIZ, Karel Eng. ScC university lecturer (economist)
KRIZ, Rene (blue-collar worker)
KUBICEK, Jiri (restorer of art)
KUBISOVA, Marta (singer)
KUCERA, Lumir (blue-collar worker)
KUKAL, Karoslav (electrician)
KUSY, Miloslav Dr. ScC university lecturer (philosopher)
KYNCL, Karel (journalist)
LAKATOS, Michal Dr. ScC (lawyer)
LAMSER, Vaclav Dr. ScD university lecturer (sociologist)
LANDOVSKY, Pavel (actor)
LANSKY, Karel Eng. (journalist)
LATTA, Vasil Dr. (lawyer)
LEDERER, Jiri (journalist)
LESTINSKY, Jan Eng. (technician)
LIS, Ladislav Dr. (former political worker)
LISKA, Oldrich (former state official)
LITERA, Jaromir (former political worker)
LITOMISKY, Jan Eng. (agronomist)
LOPATKA, Jan (literary critic)
LUDVIK, Emil Dr. (composer)
LUKACEK, Andrej (clergyman)
LUKES, Klement
MACAK, Vladimir (mechanic)
MACEK, Richard (blue-collar worker)
MACHONIN, Sergej Dr. (theater critic and translator)
MACHOVEC, Milan Prof. Dr. ScD (philosopher)
MALICKY, Josef Prof. Dr. (mathematician)
MALIK, Vladimir (salesman)
MALY, Vaclav (blue-collar worker)

MARECEK, Frantisek (blue-collar worker)
 MAREK, Vladimir (blue-collar worker)
 MAREK, Karel (blue-collar worker)
 MARES, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
 MARVANOVÁ, Anna (journalist)
 MARIK, Jan (blue-collar worker)
 MASEK, Petr (blue-collar worker)
 MASINOVÁ, Jelena (screen-writer)
 MATZENAUER (blue-collar worker)
 MATZENAUEROVÁ, Jitka (librarian)
 MATZENAUEROVÁ, Marie (clergywoman)
 MAXERA, Frantisek (creative artist)
 MAZANKOVÁ, Marta (painter)
 MEDEK, Ivan (music publisher)
 MEJDROVÁ, Hana Dr. ScC university lecturer (historian)
 MENERT, Evzen Dr. ScC (philosopher)
 MERHAUT, Vladislav (technician)
 MEZNIK, Jaroslav Dr university lecturer (historian)
 MICHL, Otakar (programmer)
 MICHNAK, Karel Dr. university lecturer (philosopher)
 MILOTA, Stanislav (cameraman)
 MIKA, Otakar (miner)
 MILUSKA, Ivan Eng. (programmer)
 MLYNARIK, Jan Dr. university lecturer (historian)
 MLYNAR, Zdenek Dr. ScC university lecturer (lawyer and politician)
 MOTL, Ervin (journalist)
 MOUCKOVÁ, Kamila (former television announcer)
 MRAZEK, Jiri (boiler attendant)
 MUDRIK, Petr (blue-collar worker)
 MUELLER, Jiri
 MUENZOVÁ, Vera (retired)
 MUENZ, Rudolf (retired)
 MURASKO, Pavel Dr. (philologist)
 MUSIL, Oldrich Eng. (technician)
 MUSILOVÁ, Jana (housewife)
 NAVRATIL, Jaromir, Dr ScC (historian)
 NEDVED, Jan (journalist)
 NEMCOVÁ, Dana (psychologist)
 NEMCOVÁ, Helena (journalist)
 NEMEC, Frantisek (technician)
 NEMEC, Jiri (psychologist)
 NEPRAS, Vladimir Dr. (journalist)
 NEPUSTIL, Vladimir (psychologist)
 NEUMANOVÁ, Jana ScC (historian)
 NOVAK, Jiri (stoker)
 NOVAK, Jiri L. (painter)
 NOVAK, Milos (blue-collar worker)
 NOVAK, Vaclav (former state official)
 NOVAKOVÁ, Jaroslava
 NOVAKOVÁ, Radka (nurse)
 NOVAKOVÁ, Zuzana (gardener)

ODOLAN, Bohuslav (blue-collar worker)
 OLSANSKY, Josef (display designer)
 OLT, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
 OPAT, Jaroslav Dr. ScD (historian)
 OPOCANSKY, Josef (blue-collar worker)
 OPPELOVA, Tatjana (social worker)
 OTAHAL, Milan Dr. ScC (historian)
 OUDA, Petr (stoker)
 PACAK, Bedrich Prof. Dr. (physician)
 PACOVSKY, Ludvik Dr. (journalist)
 PACINA, Zdenek Eng. (official)
 PACINOVA, Jirina Eng. (official)
 PALLAS, Jiri (technician)
 PALOUS, Martin (programmer)
 PALOUS, Radim, Dr. university lecturer (educator)
 PATOCKA, Jan Prof. Dr. ScD honorary doctor (philosopher)
 PATOCKA, Jan Jr. (blue-collar worker)
 PAVELKA, Jan (blue-collar worker)
 PAVLICEK, Frantisek, Dr. (writer)
 PAVLU, Blanka Eng. (official)
 PECKA, Karel (writer)
 PECHANCOVA, Anna (accountant)
 PEKNY, Pavel (blue-collar worker)
 PEKNY, Tomas (journalist)
 PELLANT, Jan (stoker)
 PETRANEK, Jan (journalist)
 PETRICEK, Miroslav (technician)
 PETRINOVA, Irena (journalist)
 PICHLIK, Karel Dr. (historian)
 PINC, Zdenek Dr. (social worker)
 PITHART, Petr Dr. (lawyer)
 PIVONKA, Bohdan (clergyman)
 PODHRAZKY, Petr (editor)
 PODOLSKA, Dana (nurse)
 POHL, Petr
 POKORNY, Bohumil Dr. (historian)
 POKORNY, Zdenek Eng. (technician)
 POLACEK, Rudolf (driver)
 POLJAK, Antonin (blue-collar worker)
 POLMA, Jiri
 POLOMIK, Frantisek (health service worker)
 POPEL, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
 POPELOVA, Jara (psychologist)
 PORADA, Milan (blue-collar worker)
 POSPISILOVA, Anna (student)
 POS, Martin (photographer)
 POVOLNA, Venceslava (philologist)
 POVOLNY, Frantisek Dr. (historian and sociologist)
 POVOLNY, Vaclav Eng. (programmer)
 PRASEK, Karel (journalist)

PRIKAZSKY, Vladimir (journalist)
PROBOSTOVA, Drahuse (editor)
PROKES, Petr (film laboratory worker)
PROKOPOVA, Helena (chemist)
PROS, Josef (blue-collar worker)
PREVRATSKA, Jana (educator)
PRIKRYL, Zdenek Dr. (former political worker)
PSTROSS, Tomas Dr. (sociologist)
PULDA, Vaclav (blue-collar worker)
RADA, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
RAGAN, Petr (seaman)
RAGANOVA, Marie (technical employee)
REJCHRT, Milos (clergyman)
REKTORISOVA, Miroslava (journalist)
RICHTER, Ales (blue-collar worker)
RICHTER Milan Dr (lawyer)
RICHTER, Vladimir Dr (former political worker)
RICHTEROVA, Zuzana (housewife)
ROCEK, Milan (designer)
ROMMELOVA, Angelika (self-employed)
ROUBAL, Pavel Eng. (technician)
ROUBALOVA, Vera Eng (technician)
RUML, Jan (stock-keeper)
RUML, Jiri (journalist)
RUZICKA, Ota (blue-collar worker)
RUZICKA, Tomas Dr. (physicist)
RYBAL, Pavel Eng. (agronomist)
RYBKOVA, Olga (midwife)
RYBOVA, Alena (housewife)
RYCHETSKY, Pavel Dr. (lawyer)
RIHA, Vladimir (educator)
RIHOVA, Marie Dr. ScC university lecturer (physician)
SABLIKOVA, Nadezda Eng.
SADILEK, Stanislav (photoreporter)
SADLO, Hubert (blue-collar worker)
SACHER, Vilem Lieutenant General
SEDLACEK, Vojtech (programmer)
SEIDLOVA, Helena (librarian)
SEIFERT JAROSLAV (national artist)
SEIFTER, Pavel Dr. (historian)
SEKANINOVA-CAKRTOVA, Gertruda Dr.
SEMERAD, Ivo (forest worker)
SCHNEIDER, Jan (blue-collar worker)
SCHNEIDER, Miroslav (salesman)
SCHULZOVA, Nadezda (professional assistant)
SIDON, Karol (writer)
SKALICKY, Miroslav (blue-collar worker)
SKRENKOVA, Eliska

SLABA, Kveta (hairstylist)
 SLADEK, Ales Dr ScC (educator)
 SLACH, Karel (cameraman)
 SLANSKA, Josefa
 SLANSKY, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
 SLANSKY, Rudolf Eng (technician)
 SLAVIK, Bohumil (salesman)
 SLAVIK, Otakar (creative artist)
 SLAVIK, Vaclav (political scientist)
 SLIVA, Antonin (educator)
 SMAZAL, Jan Eng. (former state official)
 SMUTNY, Bohumil (driver)
 SOCHA, Ladislav (white-collar worker)
 SOKOL, Jan (technician)
 SOUCEK, Jan Dr. university lecturer (sociologist)
 SOUKUP, Karel (forest worker)
 SOUKUPOVA, Marie Eng. (technician)
 STANKOVIC, Andrej (poet)
 STEHLIK, Jan (carpenter)
 STEHLIK, Josef Eng. (former political worker)
 STEHLIKOVA, Dana (white-collar worker)
 STEKLY, Josef (creative artist)
 STERN, Vladimir (former state official)
 STERNOVA, Jana
 STIBIC, Eng ScC (scientist)
 STIBICOVA, Jarmila (teacher)
 STRAKA, Rudolf (former political worker)
 STUCHLIKOVA, Eva Dr. (psychologist)
 SUCHY, Cestmir, Dr. (journalist)
 SUK, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
 SUKOVA, Petra (blue-collar worker)
 SUKOVA, Vera (retired)
 SVAROVSKY, Antonin (painter)
 SVOBODA, Jan (blue-collar worker)
 SVOBODOVA, Hava (instructor)
 SVOBODOVA, Xenie (white-collar worker)
 SYROVATKA, Vojen (clergyman)
 SYROVATKOVA, Dorkas (nurse)
 SABATA, Jan (boiler attendant)
 SABATA, Jaroslav Dr. university lecturer (psychologist)
 SABATA, Vaclav (creative artist)
 SABATOVA, Anna Jr. (white-collar worker)
 SABATOVA, Anna Sr. (journalist)
 SAFRANEK, Jan (creative artist)
 SMRKOVSKA, Katrin
 SAFRATA, Jan (technician)
 SAFRATOVA, Ingrid (technical supervisor)
 SACH, Antonin (former political worker)
 SAMALIK, Frantisek Dr. ScD university lecturer (lawyer)
 SAPOV, Boris (blue-collar worker)

SASEK, Jiri
 SEBA, Jan (blue-collar worker)
 SEBEK, Vaclav Eng. (architect)
 SEBKOVA, Jana Eng. (technician)
 SILAR, Frantisek (graduate of Komensky Theological Faculty)
 SILHAN, Venek Prof. Eng. ScC (economist)
 SILHANOVA, Libuse Dr. ScC (sociologist)
 SIMKOVA, Ivana (psychologist)
 SIMON, Bohumil Eng. ScC university lecturer (economist and politician)
 SIMONIKOVA, Maria (student)
 SIMSA, Jan (clergyman)
 SINDELAR, Jan Dr. ScC university lecturer (philosopher)
 SKUTINA, Vladimir (journalist)
 SLANBERA, Miroslav (blue-collar worker)
 SLING, Karel Eng. (economist)
 SNAJDR, Vlastislav (surveyor)
 SREMER, Pavel (microbiologist)
 STERBA, Stanislav Dr.
 STEVICHOVA, Miluse (blue-collar worker)
 STOLOVSKA, Marie (retired)
 STUCKA, Vladimir (blue-collar worker)
 STOVICKOVA, Vera (journalist)
 SUBRTOVA, Vera (blue-collar worker)
 SULC, Zdislav (journalist)
 SULCOVA, Olga (journalist)
 SUMAVSKY, Miroslav Dr. (historian)
 SUSTROVA, Petruska (white-collar worker)
 SVAB, Jaroslav (blue-collar worker)
 SVEJDA, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
 SVERMOVA, Marie
 TARDY, Vladimir Prof. Dr. (psychologist and philosopher)
 TATARKA, Dominik artist laureate (writer)
 TATOUN, Petr (blue-collar worker)
 TESAR, Jan Dr. (historian)
 THOMA, Jan (blue-collar worker)
 TOKARZ, Josef (blue-collar worker)
 TOKARZOVA, Frantiska (housewife)
 TOMASEK, Alois (retired)
 TOMIN, Julius, Dr. (philosopher)
 TOPOL, Josef (writer)
 TOULEC, Tomas (technician)
 TOUSKOVA, Jana (interpreter)
 TREFULKA, Jan (writer)
 TRINKEWITZ, Karel (creative artist)
 TROJAN, Jakub Eng. university lecturer (clergyman)
 TROJAN, Vaclav (programmer)
 TUMOVA, Jana (saleswoman)
 TUMPACH, Frantisek (editor)
 TVRDOCH, Jiri (disabled pensioner)

TYL, Miroslav Eng. (technician)
UHDE, Milan Dr. (writer)
UHER, Jiri (typographer)
UHL, Petr (technician)
UHLIK, Antonin Eng. (blue-collar worker)
URBANEK, Zdenek (writer and translator)
URUBA, Ladislav (former political worker)
URX, Richard Eng. (technical employee)
URXOVA, Luisa
UXA, Pavel (technician)
VACKOVA, Ruzena Dr. university lecturer (art historian)
VACULIK, Ludvik (writer)
VACULIK, Zdenek (plumber)
VANCURA, Jiri (historian)
VALESOVA, Olga (clergywoman)
VALTR, Vlastislav
VANECEK, Frantisek (journalist)
VANECKOVA, Dagmar (journalist)
VANEK, Jaroslav (locksmith)
VANEK, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
VANIK, Jan (blue-collar worker)
VASEK, Zdenek (blue-collar worker)
VASICEK, Zdenek Dr. (historian)
VASINA, Miloslav (graduate of Komensky Theological Faculty)
VESECKY, Jan (mechanic)
VESELY, Jiri (blue-collar worker)
VESELY, Stanislav (blue-collar worker)
VELAT, Jan
VERNER, B. (physicist)
VIT, Jan (journalist)
VITACEK, Jaroslav Dr. (former political worker)
VLADISLAV, Jan (writer)
VLASAK, Frantisek (blue-collar worker)
VLASAK, Stanislav (white-collar worker)
VLASAK, Tomas (blue-collar worker)
VLK, Vaclav (teacher)
VOCU, Vera (blue-collar worker)
VOBRUNIK, Roman (blue-collar worker)
VODSLON, Frantisek (politician)
VOHRYZEK, Josef (translator)
VOJACKOVA, Olga (journalist)
VOJTISEK, Ivo (blue-collar worker)
VOKATY, Zdenek (blue-collar worker)
VONDRA, Premysl (journalist)
VONDRUSKA, Josef (house painter)
VOPALKA, Milan D. (house painter)
VORISKOVA, Kveta (blue-collar worker)
VRABEC, Vaclav Dr. (journalist and historian)
VRBA, Tomas Dr. (social worker)

VYDRAR, Josef (retired professor)
 VYROUBAL, Alois Eng. (technician)
 WISO, Jaromir (creative artist)
 WITTMANN, Robert (guard)
 ZAHORA, Josef Dr. (retired)
 ZAN, Dusan (stock-keeper)
 ZANOVA, Kvetuse (health service employee)
 ZAVADIL, Frantisek (philologist)
 ZAVADIL, Vladimir (blue-collar worker)
 ZASPAL, Vaclav (driver)
 ZDRAHAL, Artur Dr. Eng. (educator)
 ZDRAHALOVA, Marie (nurse)
 ZELENKOVA, Jirina Dr. (physician)
 ZEMAN, Petr (biologist)
 ZEMAN, Rudolf (journalist)
 ZIKMUNDOVSKY, Zdenek (former state official)
 ZUKAL, Rudolf Eng. ScC university lecturer (economist)
 ZVERINA, Jindrich (blue-collar worker, messenger)
 ZVERINA, Josef Dr. (clergyman)
 ZAK, Josef (blue-collar worker)
 ZAK, Vaclav (programmer)

Document No 9

"Omnia sponte fluant
 Absit violentia rebus."
 (Let everything flow freely,
 Let matters develop without violence.)
 --J. A. Comenius

The emphasis on human rights and their implementation has become the pivotal internal as well as international issue. The struggle for human dignity, respect for man and his convictions, freedom of conscience and religion is intensifying. At the same time mankind is threatened by a wave of barbarism, violence and terror, the most brutal trampling of the rights and violation of principles incorporated in important UN documents of the past decades.

One must welcome the fact that in the recent past some of those documents (both international pacts) became part of our legislation. It is important that the Final Act of Helsinki and the Agreement on the Struggle Against Discrimination in Education were signed by our representatives and that the Universal Declaration on Human Rights is regarded almost everywhere in the world as an inspiring document of great moral and spiritual force. There is ripening awareness that disrespect for human rights not only causes hardship on individuals and groups within the society in which they live but also threatens international relationships. This obligates individual citizens, social institutions and the state to respect those principles and to forge ahead tenaciously on the path to their fulfillment.

Freedom of conviction, freedom of thought, freedom of conscience and freedom of religion (belief), together with other freedoms and human rights, should be a subject of interest and respect not only because they represent some citizens' privileges (for example, freedom of religion). The fact is that without them the entire society cannot become a truly civilized community. For that reason neither the people nor the state have any right to hinder expressions of freedom of thought, conviction and conscience. On the contrary, it is their task and duty to contribute by all available means to make men free to the fullest extent, so that they may develop as free beings and implement their freedoms in a creative effort according to choice and actively participate in the political life of their country, in the administration of the state and in the economic and cultural building of society.

The International Pact on Civil and Political Rights proclaims in article 18 the right of freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Furthermore, it proclaims freedom of expression "to seek, accept and spread information and ideas of every kind, regardless of borders, whether in oral or written form or in the press, through the arts or other means according to one's own choice (article 19, 1, 2). In the light of these principles, all obstacles standing in the path of the rights and their implementation must be removed.

The main issue is that believing and nonbelieving citizens ought to be able to express their views, even if they differ from officials views, without any fear of persecution in the performance of their professions or anywhere else. In addition to article 25 of the aforementioned pact, which stipulates equal conditions for everyone in hiring for public service, it is necessary with all determination also to respect article 20 of our Constitution according to which "the working people's society guarantees equal rights to citizens by providing equal possibilities and equal opportunities in every area of social life."

Incompatible with that principle is the tendency common in cadre and other procedures to urge the citizens, for example, "to come to terms with the outmoded vestiges of religion." It is known that although data on individuals' church membership have not been included in official documents for more than 20 years, they play an important role in evaluation on various occasions. It is necessary to insure that believers or citizens with different views have the same opportunity to become teachers, professors, scientists or employees of state organs, courts, the prosecutor's office and other institutions, that they not be forced to conceal their beliefs and convictions. Only professional skills and moral qualities of the citizens should be decisive for their employment status.

The general reform of the situation in our country will be advanced if the right of free expression is not restricted, for instance, in the case of believing citizens' being restricted to only passive attendance at church services. Believing citizens should have the right to create and freely develop their spiritual and church life, to strive for it in harmony with their own traditions and also in the light of new knowledge, without any outside intervention. At the same time, it is necessary that they be able

to interpret their motivations and suggestions publicly, that they be able to discuss and profess their faith unhindered and publish their views in the religious and nonreligious press. A Christian or Jewish artist, teacher, scientist, philosopher, theologian or journalist has the same right to participate in the cultural life of his country as a citizen who is an active follower of Marxism-Leninism. Both of them and, naturally, others who are adherents, for example of humanistic, democratic and atheistic traditions, should be served by the communications media for a fruitful dialog from which all of society benefits.

It is contrary to the principles of freedom of conscience, thought and expression if in our country certain occupations (teaching) are entrusted only to those citizens who have pledged allegiance to philosophical tenets declared by the political power. Any ideological trend is weakened if it is enforced by the administration of power. Our entire national history offers eloquent testimony to that fact. That is why the ideal of free profession of faith was declared in our country as early as in the Hussite times, well ahead of other nations in Europe.

The right of free expression includes the right to embrace ideas and initiatives regardless of borders. If citizens are prevented from receiving philosophical, theological and religious literature from abroad and from disseminating their ideas, articles, essays and other works freely across the borders, that is in contradiction to that right. It is time to end the unfortunate practice of restricting the opportunities of obtaining unbiased information and ideas about Christianity and other religions. It is improper that the dissemination of religious and other literature, even the Bible, is considered almost a criminal act, an antistate action (for instance, the absolute prohibition of reading the Scriptures in prisons).

A special problem appears in the situation of religious education and upbringing of our youth. The current practice must be brought in line with the principles proclaimed by both the international pacts and by the Agreement on the Struggle Against Discrimination in Education. Education must be made accessible to everyone, without any discrimination (differentiation) whatsoever. Only the candidates' abilities and talent should be decisive. According to both pacts (article 13 of International Pact 1 and article 19 of International Pact 2) the states took upon themselves the obligation to respect the freedom of parents and guardians to provide religious and moral education corresponding to their own convictions. Since part of that education takes place in school, it is up to the state to insure real implementation of that right by removing every kind of obstacle--such as pressure on parents by the school and other organs not to send their children to classes of religious instruction--to protect the children and youth from being ridiculed for their parents' faith, and not to let them be the objects of discrimination because of their convictions. Religious education must be carried out within the church and family in accordance with the customs of those groups, regardless of age limits.

Our Constitution and both the international pacts (article 28 and article 21 of International Pact 1 and article 22 of International Pact 2) proclaim freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of congregation. These freedoms include the citizens' right to assemble and establish various organizations for the implementation of that freedom, to congregate not only on the appointed premises, but also in public areas, outdoors, etc. Practically, this involves the right of state-recognized churches and religious communities to be free to organize congresses and various kinds of assemblies in church and other buildings and to discuss there their common concerns, to implement the right of free exchange of ideas and thus to strengthen their relationships. Furthermore, that purpose is served by special courses and retreats for believers: clergymen's and laymen's conferences, youth congresses and meetings, work brigades, recreational and study trips and vacations. In this connection various church organizations, associations and fellowships and fruitful ecumenical contacts of church members are of great importance.

This applies equally to religious societies which have been a part of the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches for a millenium. The right of assembly and congregation indivisibly includes the opportunity for the churches and religious societies to meet with their sister societies abroad. This involves an exchange of students and teachers of theological faculties, friendly meetings and study contacts of individuals and church representatives on the highest levels. Vital contacts of Christians across the borders of countries and states and the mutually fruitful influence of various traditions and movements are positively reflected in the life of the entire society. Their existence is explicitly presupposed in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, in the chapter on cooperation in humanitarian questions.

Not the least is the problem of the social status of clergymen in church service and their work and legal conditions. Law No 218/1949 SBIRKA ZAKONU [Collection of Laws], explicitly proclaims that clergymen are employees of the Church and perform their profession by the Church's appointment and that that principle must be applied consistently. Reform will be advanced if the clergymen become able to carry out their profession without insensitive interventions by the state administration, which frequently enforces unjustified revocation of its approval for pastoral service. Because the hitherto valid norms of 1949 are inadequate in the area of the labor law, the Labor Code must be applied primarily in case of those clergymen in church services. Such an application is stipulated explicitly in paragraph 269.

Insensitive intervention must be avoided also in regulations concerning admission to theological faculties. Here the only requirement should be the need of the believer and the interest and personal dispositions of the candidate for study.

This document is introduced by a motto written by a great man of our cultural and spiritual history. In the spirit of Comenius all freedoms constitute an indivisible whole, intrinsically relevant to the personal life of each man and of the whole society. It would be tragic if anyone

should consider the inalienable freedoms and human rights as something to be subordinated to political or ideological goals. We remain convinced and hopeful that our country's social system has the potential not only for recognizing those human rights and freedoms, but also for turning them into reality by means of civic initiative, in an atmosphere of general confidence and cooperation.

Prague, 22 April 1977

[Signed] Prof. Dr. Jiri Hajek, ScDr
Spokesman for Charter 77

Document No 10

Almost 4 months have passed since the day the declaration of Charter 77 was published. It is not a long time in the life of our society; however, enough has happened to make its evaluation the basis for constructive ideas. The text of the Charter could not be delivered directly to the CSSR Government and the Federal Assembly because the action of State Security prevented it. The reaction of State Security to the publication of the declaration reached dimensions which the state power had never applied in cases of previous petitions likewise submitted on the basis of article 27 of the Constitution. In the course of recent years Czechoslovak society had never experienced such a harsh campaign by the communications media, whose purpose it was to discredit the speakers and signatories of the Charter, nor such extensive secret reprisals. At the same time, the substance of the issue was kept secret from the public. The response of the communications media was hysterical and brutal. In certain respects the campaign against Charter 77 turned journalism back to the 1950's. For that very reason it provoked the public's interest in the authentic text of the declaration and in further documents.

The fact that Charter 77 also evoked considerable interest abroad resulted in imputing to it certain views, statements or objectives which the Charter has never expressed and which it does not advocate. The Charter documents were spontaneously circulated among the population. In the confrontation the whole absurdity of the campaign came to light. The people drew their own conclusions and, as a result, hundreds of signatures were added under Charter 77, and sympathy was expressed in very many different ways.

With few exceptions, the representatives of the state power reacted to Charter 77 in a rather restrained manner because they realized that its text in fact called only for honoring those obligations which they themselves had accepted and legalized. They did not want to appear before the world in the role of those who do not respect the laws which they themselves had enacted. They seconded the claim, however, that the signatories of the Charter were an outpost of Western imperialism; they tolerated the actions of the communications media; and, most importantly, they gave free reign to the authorities to make the signatories' life very miserable.

While constantly emphasizing legality the authorities placed the signatories practically outside the law. They resorted to such methods as forcible entry to the signatories' homes and house searches, dismissals from jobs, disconnection of telephones, opening of mail and revocation of drivers' licenses or identity cards. Visits by Slovaks in Prague and of Czechs in Bratislava were prevented and the visitors were escorted back. Many signatories were followed day and night. The apartments of Prof. Dr. J. Hajek, a spokesman for Charter 77, and of signatories Frantisek Kriegel and Zdenek Mlynar have been surrounded by the police for several weeks. Records of their visitors are kept, and foreign visitors, including communists, are not permitted to enter their homes. Some of them have been expelled from our country. A conservative estimate of the costs of this police surveillance in wages only amounts to Kcs 350,000.

V. Havel, a spokesman for Charter 77, and signatory J. Lederer have been held in custody without trial for 4 months. There are some indications that legal action is being prepared against them, allegedly on some other charges; however, it is in fact an action against the Charter. The events surrounding the tragic death of Charter spokesman Prof J. Patocka and his funeral testify to the fact that some power organs have been violating the rights guaranteed by law as well as the norms of human dignity and decency. In the same way, the press campaign which failed to bring forth one single objective argument and the interrogations which spared hardly any of the signatories because eloquent testimony to the fact that Charter 77 did bring to public attention problems that must be resolved in our country. The problems of civil rights and democratic freedoms demanded at last the attention they deserved. Charter 77 gave many citizens courage to stand up individually in defense of human rights. Official pressures on citizens to condemn Charter 77 led some citizens to become politically involved by placing them before a personal decision. At the price of insincerely condemning Charter 77 by formally declaring their loyalty, some citizens, particularly those in the cultural area, were promised that they would be able to engage in their profession. Everybody who lives in our country will judge for himself whether that price was not excessively high and the reward inadequate.

The state power did, however, attempt some minor cosmetic corrections. The changes which took place in admissions to secondary schools cannot be evaluated before additional information is obtained. The same is true about the so-called free sale of foreign publications which was announced abroad but not fulfilled in practice.

Increased public interest in problems of human rights and democratic freedoms evoked by Charter 77 was reflected in the proceedings of the Federal Assembly on 5 April 1977. Many citizens interpreted the proceedings of the Federal Assembly as a partial response to the declaration of Charter 77 and noted that the unsubstantiated accusations against Charter 77 did not appear there or in the published excerpts from the agenda. On the contrary, the Federal Assembly acknowledged, albeit in general terms only, the obligation and also the need to apply civic initiative in implementing

democratic rights and applying democratic freedoms. Nevertheless, it did not draw specific conclusions from the violations, which Charter 77 had sought.

The communications media could not overlook the attention evoked by the publication of Charter 77 abroad. Even State Security dealt with it whenever they interrogated any of the signatories. They spread the most absurd fabrications about some kind of ideological, organizational and even material dependency on Charter 77 on imperialism and anticommunism. False accusations dating from the early 1950's frequently reappeared with negligible adjustments; they were not based on facts but on the monopolistic status of the communications media. They are systematically trying to misinform our people as well as people abroad. Their false, totally unsubstantiated allegations are reprinted in the Warasw Pact press. That is why we appreciate so much the solidarity and moral support of many citizens in those countries. We are also grateful for the sympathy expressed by the representatives of the human rights movement who are working in those countries under extremely difficult conditions. We have been encouraged also by the solidarity of communists, socialists and democrats all over the world who are concerned about the same issues as Charter 77: respect for human rights and civil freedoms as the precondition for genuine peaceful coexistence and cooperation of all countries, on the basis of equal rights and regardless of their social system or the degree of their economic development, in accord with the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of the United Nations, and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The response from the world around us, positive as well as negative, and its intensity are determined by the current situation in individual societies and the situation of international relations; the signatories of Charter 77 can affect them only to a small extent.

Despite all the campaigns and reprisals, our task continues to be the further development of the legal civic initiative outlined by the declaration of Charter 77. We are convinced that some social phenomena and the unnecessary tensions pertaining to the implementation of human rights and the enjoyment of civil freedoms can be removed only by a rational and constitutional process: a) by objective verification of the facts published in Charter 77; b) by appropriate analysis of their causes and consequences; c) by gradual, yet consistent elimination of all procedures, symptoms and practices which are in opposition to the valid legal system; d) by gradual elimination of the regulations imposed by the legal system which are in contradiction to both international pacts and other Czechoslovak international obligations and, on the contrary, by legalization of those regulations that fully correspond to them and do not permit equivocal interpretations.

Therefore, we propose:

1. An end to the undignified campaign against Charter 77 and its signatories and revocation of all illegal measures. Cessation of the expensive police actions which are not solving anything but, on the contrary, are causing more new controversies. Release from custody of all citizens detained in connection with Charter 77.

2. Publication of both international pacts in sufficient quantity to meet demand. The previous publication by Decree 121 of SBIRKA ZAKONU was insufficient and was sold out long ago. Public dissemination in the communications media and by other means of the ideas of both pacts, particularly in cases of obvious conflict between the text, on the one hand, and the implementation of human rights and democratic freedoms, on the other.

3. Consistent fulfillment of the decisions of the Federal Assembly of 5 April 1977, which imposed the obligation on the committees of both assemblies and on the representatives of the Federal Assembly to observe legality, pay increased attention to the protection of civil rights and human freedoms, and reply to the citizens' suggestions and complaints. The granting of all citizens of the theoretical as well as actual opportunity to submit or present proofs of complaints of violations of the legal system and elimination of every influence which would try to prevent it. As the highest organ of the state power, the Federal Assembly itself should resolve those cases which discredit the policy of the state, and urge the subordinated organs to remedy the situation.

4. Consideration, on the basis of societywide discussions, of a review of individual laws and legislative amendments, particularly in the area of criminal and civil law, and in the Labor Code and elsewhere, to bring the Czechoslovak legal system into agreement with both international pacts. Public discussion of these problems will make it possible not only to balance the Czechoslovak legal system and both pacts, but to strengthen the citizens' legal security and increase their legal consciousness and thus will contribute to the implementation of socialist principles.

5. Discussion of proposals, suggestions and complaints with the spokesmen of Charter 77, its signatories and other citizens who request it, within the appropriate state organs, institutions and social organizations and not, as has been the practice, only in the State Security Corps interrogation rooms where most of the aforementioned cases simply do not belong.

6. Recognition that, pursuant to article 41 of the International Pact on Universal Human Rights, the Committee for Human Rights is authorized to report the state which fails to fulfill the obligations imposed by said pact. Such a step, by which the state voluntarily submits to international control, will enhance the prestige of the Czechoslovak state and disperse the fears that its approach to both of these pacts was only formal.

7. Calling to task those workers of the communications media, security and other state and political organs who abused and still abuse their position by disseminating lies, exerting pressure or threatening with court action and other administrative action to menace and harm the citizens for defending their views, which are fully compatible with the Constitution and the Legal Code of the republic, although not always in conformity with what appears to be the official position at any particular time. Individuals proceeding in such a way are violating laws and obligations based on the international pacts, breaking the laws and damaging the

reputation of the state institutions. Only they need fear efficient control; only they are threatened by effective laws. It is only to them that a genuine socialist democracy is a nightmare, and for that very reason they were and will be the greatest foes of human and civil rights and democratic freedoms. Today they are threatening only us, but their repeated attempts to reinstate the processes of the 1950's, which are the only acts political leadership has opposed, have proved that they would stop at nothing.

For the solution of these problems Charter 77 is ready and willing to submit specific proposals and materials and to participate in the articulation of appropriate measures. Charter 77 has passed a hard test in the past 4 months. Its arguments have withstood the fire of slander. Despite the reprisals only a solitary signatory withdrew his signature. His signature was replaced by hundreds of others. Charter 77 defended its legal base; even our arrested members have not been accused of anything because of it. The position of the prosecutor general has been completely vague and non-committal, although in these very days it has been misused in labor disputes. Most important of all, Charter 77 has preserved its moral credit and its determination not to retreat from violence, its determination to cooperate with anyone who regards respect for human rights and civil freedoms as a valid contribution to enhancing peace and detente in Europe as well as a precondition for the development of a genuine socialist society in our country.

Prague, 25 April 1977

[Signed] Prof. D. Jiri Hajek, ScD
Spokesman for Charter 77

Issued in Prague, 29 April 1977.

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL DEFENDS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 114, 16 Jun 77 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Defends 'Proletarian Internationalism.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article discussed below follows the commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, which is closely aligned with the GDR Foreign Ministry, has come out once again with an emphatic defense of the principle of "proletarian internationalism" in the relations among the socialist states. Proletarian internationalism, in the West normally referred to as "Brezhnev Doctrine" and practically amounting to the Soviet Union's right of intervention in the East bloc states, marked a "higher quality" of interstate relations. The journal in this connection explicitly emphasizes the right of intervention based on it and "the joint internationalist duty of the socialist countries to supporting, consolidating and protection the socialist achievements." The special relations among the socialist countries reflected the qualitatively new requirements connected with their gradual rapprochement. This "fraternal alliance" reinforced the international position, authority and stability of each one of the socialist countries and assured a "maximum of sovereignty and independence of each, under attack from imperialist policy."

Foreign Affairs Journal's Article

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 22 No 6, Jun 77 signed to press 29 Apr 77 pp 20-30

[Article by Prof Dr Joachim Krueger, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "Proletarian Internationalism and General Democratic Principles"]

[Text] The shaping of relations among the fraternal socialist countries, highpoints and special events in their bilateral and multilateral cooperation, in particular the meetings among their leading representatives, are increasingly

attracting international attention. The results of these relations are of concern to both friends and foes of real socialism. Their nature and significance are subject to worldwide debate. This is part of the ideological struggle in our time altogether, for it is an element of the radiating strength of the socialist social order.

These new-type relations as they have long been forming among the fraternal socialist countries and are being developed extensively today are one of the many sides of the advantages of real socialism becoming ever more prominent in the world and exercising increasing influence on the development of the anti-imperialist struggle.

These relations testify to true equality, respect for state sovereignty and independence, nonintervention in internal affairs and thus, the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist order. They are diametrically opposed to the situation prevailing under the capitalist system. In imperialism, the interests of the strongest forces ultimately prevail. Economically and militarily strong states are exploiting the weaker ones, impose their will upon them and make them take domestic and foreign policy steps opposed to their very own interests. That is typified by unequal economic relations, capital export and the direct exploitation of significant sectors of the workers class in other countries under the discriminating conditions as "guest workers." Inequality, exploitation and suppression in the relations among the states and peoples thus are within the countries, along with the capitalist exploitation relations, the cause for the peoples' growing dissatisfaction and subject to criticism and struggle by the anti-imperialist forces under the leadership by the communist and workers parties.

Precisely in order to counteract such development, the interrelations among the socialist states are more and more fiercely being attacked by those who advocate and represent the status quo of the capitalist exploiter system. In order to confine, or possibly even do away with, the power of conviction in this new type of international relations, the claim is being raised, among other things, that these true and genuinely democratic relations among the peoples and states of the socialist community did not exist at all. Relations are being attributed to the socialist states such as exist in imperialism.¹ Moreover the claim is made that the fraternal socialist countries denied the validity of the democratic principles of state relations as vested, worldwide, in international law and acted in opposition to them. For that reason, for example, they would insist the imperialist states would have to honor such jointly signed documents as the Final Act of Helsinki but fail to do so among each other.² By such insinuations the attempt is being made to defame the socialist states as treacherous and two-faced and to impute attitudes to them which the peoples are not to expect of the governments of capitalist countries.

The fact is that the socialist states do respect the universal democratic principles of state relations in their own interrelations, yet they regard these relations as they exist or can and must be enforced even among states with differing social orders as insufficient and inappropriate to the nature

and requirements of their cooperation. The substance of their interrelations is not exhausted by it; it is richer by far. "The relations among socialist states are determined by proletarian internationalism, by an effective combination between common and national interests,"³ as the SED program puts it.

As much as the approach to the construction of communist society in each socialist country so also the entire activity of the fraternal parties in the international arena is based on the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian internationalism. It also determines government policy in the fraternal socialist states. Pursuant to that concept the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries are developing their relations to each other and to all the militant organizations of the workers class in other countries.

With the destruction of the exploiter system within the socialist countries the social foundations for inequality, suppression and exploitation and for military conflict among these countries have been liquidated. And thus in a part of the world the conclusion elaborated by Marx and Engels was brought to realization: "To the extent that the exploitation of one individual by another is abolished, the exploitation of one nation by another also is abolished. As class opposition within the nation disappears so does also the hostility among the nations."⁴

Thereby the prerequisites were established for truly democratic relations and conditions among the peoples as, time and again, dreamed of and described for many centuries by the greatest thinkers of mankind and demanded by the peoples. Thereby the preconditions were created for realizing the ideals the bourgeois class had already posed and fought for, as slogans in its struggle against the feudal system, without its being able, however, to bring them to realization after it was established as the ruling class. Through the victory of the workers class in a number of countries a class for the first time assumed power which could present its own domestic and foreign policy interests in actual conformity with the interests of the entire people. For the first time in the history of humanity it was able to lend the democratic demands the appropriate impulse and to create the social preconditions for their realization. The workers class and, with it, all working people and broad popular masses are the force that can assure true democracy within the countries and among the countries. And, in fact, only after its liberation, after the start of the modern epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism have democratic elements entered into the relations among states, and this only against the explicit resistance by virtually all capitalist states.

Who could ignore the fact that for the first time in 1945, with the UN Charter, an international legal order came about which obligates all states to the respect for the equality and the right of self-determination of the peoples, the development of friendly relations among them, the sovereign equality of all states, the ban on aggression and the peaceful settlement of controversies as well as the renunciation of force and efforts on behalf of disarmament.

It came as the result of the heroic efforts and great sacrifice of the antifascist popular masses in World War II and their main force, the USSR, that the democratic principles were thus written into international law. The USSR it was which, after many years of complicated negotiations about a democratic postwar order, wrested from the main imperialist powers of the anti-Hitler coalition an agreement with such principles. It thwarted all attempts at salvaging beyond World War II and relegitimizing internationally the rules on unequal relations among states that imperialism had produced and been practicing, as imperialism still had managed to do with the League of Nations statute after World War I. True to proletarian internationalism, the USSR in these negotiations carried through an essential goal of the antifascist liberation struggle. The imperialist powers for the time being did not manage openly to oppose the democratic demands and goals of the popular masses. Thus general democratic principles on interstate relations became universally binding and from now on formed the code of conduct for all states.

Especially the first postwar years demonstrated that the main imperialist powers and the countries depending on them were unwilling to respect and abide by the rules of the UN statutes. In international politics they sought to go on and practice their old undemocratic and aggressive modes of conduct. Imperialist postwar policy was marked by many different acts of contempt for the UN Charter. The United States tried to abuse the United Nations, against its clearly defined function, as a tool of its own supremacy and prevented it from becoming fully effective by all sorts of intrigues and provocations. It took the lead in creating the ANZUS, NATO and SEATO military blocs which contradicted UN objectives and, essential elements of the cold war, largely paralyzed its effectiveness for a time. In international relations imperialist principles experienced a partial revival and were applied with a brutality that is typical of imperialism. Through military force, one in a grand style interfered in the internal affairs of European and Asian peoples so as to prevent them from establishing democratic relations and deny their establishing independent statehood. Economic blockade and boycott brusquely violated the principle of peaceful collaboration. The USSR and the young people's democracies alone committed themselves to the observance and application of the UN Charter and demonstrated that it could be implemented by their relations with one another.

For the first time in the history of these peoples friendly relations were established among them based on the respect for independence, and equality and cooperation on equal terms was developed. Article 4 of the USSR-CSSR friendship, cooperation and assistance treaty, for example, which was signed while the war was still on, on 12 December 1943, set down, with respect to friendly cooperation after the war, "to act in conformity with the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty and for the non-intervention in the internal affairs of the partner state." Likewise, in the 21 April 1945 treaty, the foundations were laid for peaceful cooperation between the USSR and Poland. And also all other bilateral treaties

signed up to 1950 among the people's democracies and between them and the USSR endorsed the application of the principles of democratic interstate relations as set down in the UN Charter. In opposition to it stood the network of treaties and pacts the United States had been spreading over a part of the world: It deliberately, or at least in content, negated the norms of democratic state relations that had been agreed on at the very time when World War II ended. By breaking the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam in April 1949 NATO was created. Thereby the United States and other Western powers broke their obligations to the USSR on cooperation in safeguarding international security. The treaty partners had to commit themselves "to strengthen their free institutions and bring about a better understanding for the principles on which these institutions are based" (Article 2). It amounted to a fairly undisguised continuation of the wave of anticommunism, high at the time, in the capitalist states. In order to legalize a possible intervention against the democratic popular masses, Article 4 also said, consultations should always be held whenever "the political independence or security of one of the parties were to be threatened." In the view of ruling NATO circles, that always becomes an occasion and pretext for intervention in the internal affairs of member states as soon as massive strikes and revolutionary situations threaten. Article 4 of the SEATO treaty of 1954 brings out clearly how here the actions taken by an aggressive bloc against the intention of others, in this case Asian states, are made to cover those as well. Through a supplementary protocol that was then also done at once for Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam.

From the very outset of the formation of the socialist world system it became clear that the formation of relations among the various fraternal countries took place in full conformity with, rather than in opposition to, the democratic principles of interstate relations. And more than that, they then were the only states among which these principles were fully brought to realization and comprehensively applied. For the victorious workers class it now was a matter of applying proletarian internationalism also in interstate relations. That implied precisely the formation of democratic state relations, forming a close organic relationship with them.

In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist line decreed by the Ninth Party Congress, the SED engages in fraternal solidarity with the struggle of the workers class and all working people. It continues forming its relations with the fraternal parties on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Its diverse and many-sided solidarity supports the workers class in the capitalist countries directly and with all the forces at its command.

The conditions available in the international arena for forming state relations are extremely diverse and call for specific applications and developments. In their relations with the capitalist countries, the fraternal socialist countries are rigorously pursuing the course of enforcing the peaceful coexistence. That conforms as much to the interests of every people as to the cause of progress for all of mankind, as underscored by the communist and workers parties at their Berlin conference in the summer of 1976.

Through the struggle for peaceful coexistence and its enforcement the most reactionary and aggressive forces are tamed, whereby more favorable conditions are created for the struggle for democracy and social progress.

In their relations with the communist and workers parties and the national-revolutionary parties in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, all fraternal parties of the socialist community of states proceed from proletarian internationalism. For example, the point is made in the cooperation agreement between the CPSU and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, of October 1976, that both sides let themselves be guided by the principles of internationalism and comradely equality.⁵ In their relations with states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the socialist countries are not confining themselves to the respect for and application of democratic principles but, in the sense of anti-imperialist solidarity, go still further. Especially vis-a-vis states with a socialist orientation, elements of proletarian internationalism also are more and more applied or brought into play. So it is stated in the friendship and cooperation treaty between the USSR and the People's Republic of Angola, of 8 October 1976, in corroboration of the UN principles and goals in Article 2, that both states will closely and in every way work together in assuring the conditions for the security and further development of the socioeconomic achievements of their peoples.⁶

In the relations among the fraternal socialist countries, the principles and requirements of proletarian internationalism are being applied all around, extensively and in every sphere. They constitute the foundation for all cooperation among them. Here, the application of proletarian internationalism receives its most extensive practical embodiment.

Proletarian internationalism lies not only in the socialist action community of its communist and workers parties, it is also based on the interstate relations. For the first time in its history, internationalism so directly and comprehensively shapes the relations among sovereign states. This has ushered in an expansion in its sphere of application and in the possibilities for its enforcement that justifies us in speaking of its higher quality. A consistent and socially assured democratism has thereby entered into interstate relations that establishes a new social foundation for the realization of democratic principles and guarantees their complete enforcement in practice.

The main trends in the cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries today are marked by the consolidation of its unity and cohesion, based on the effectuation of the inevitabilities of the socialist world system. Here it is in particular the process of its gradual rapprochement that emerges clearly as an inevitability. For that reason the fraternal countries are going beyond the application of the general democratic principles of state relations. The socialist social order itself it is which produces the requirements and possibilities for the cooperation among the fraternal countries calling for far more than merely the application of general democratic principles. Mutual comradely aid, the mutual interests in the

successes of the partner countries, the individual development of the various states with due regard for the concerns of the socialist community, and the common internationalist obligation by the socialist countries for the support, consolidation and protection of the socialist achievements, these are principles of proletarian internationalism governing the relations of the socialist countries with each other. They at the same time reflect the qualitatively new requirements connected with general rapprochement. It facilitates fruitful cooperation in all fields far transcending the scope of what the general democratic principles can accomplish. The cooperation among the fraternal parties constitutes the crucial foundation and basic precondition for it. SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker made the point at the Ninth SED Congress: "The centerpiece of our relations with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries is made up of the tasks resulting from the current phase of socialist and communist construction, from shaping the developed socialist society, the all round cooperation of the fraternal countries in the political, economic, ideological and military fields, the strengthening and consolidation of the socialist community of states and the elaboration and realization of a coordinated foreign policy."⁷

There is no area in this cooperation where, under the conditions of applying proletarian internationalism, those principles would not also at the same time find their full realization which must today be generally brought into play among the states.

In the 7 October 1975 GDR-USSR friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty, for instance, the chief requirement of proletarian internationalism in the relations among the socialist states is confirmed. It is stated in the preamble of this treaty "that the support, consolidation and protection of the socialist achievements, attained thanks to the heroic efforts and sacrificial work of the peoples, are the joint international duty of the socialist countries."

It is precisely the fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries which "enhances the power of each. Economic cooperation on equal terms adds new gigantic possibilities to their own resources. The close, organic and incessantly growing friendly relations between party and state organs, between enterprise crews and science collectives, the social organizations, between millions and millions of citizens entitle us to speak of a phenomenon new in principle: a genuine fraternal alliance of peoples welded together through their unity of conviction and identity of goals. Its sure foundation, the power that cements it, is the militant community of the Marxist-Leninist parties."⁸

This fraternal alliance consolidates the international position, authority and stability of each socialist country and grants maximum assurance for its sovereignty and independence, under attack by imperialist policy. How else could the GDR's international position of today have been reached and the imperialist boycott and blockade policy been overcome, if not mainly through the solidary militant alliance of the socialist fraternal countries and, above all, through the fraternal solidarity the USSR has given the GDR.

The close interlinking of the material and intellectual potentials of the fraternal socialist countries toward the solution of great common tasks reaching into the far distant future has become the vital foundation for its dynamic growth and for the consolidation of its sovereignty.

That is impressively being shown by the implementation of the socialist economic integration and the development of the CEMA countries' scientific-technical collaboration. When they ratified their complex program in 1971, the CEMA countries explicitly determined that these measures were "taken in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism and based on the respect for state sovereignty, the independence of national interests, the nonintervention in the internal affairs of the countries, complete equality, mutual advantage and mutual comradely aid."⁹ In the process of socialist economic integration, the socialist countries are finding it possible today to meet the requirements for shaping the developed socialist society and for communist construction and successfully to cope with this higher stage of social development. The further blossoming of the fraternal socialist countries is inseparably connected with socialist economic integration.

At the Ninth SED Congress, SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker stated: "We are firmly convinced the further consolidation and deepening of socialist economic integration will in the future become, to a far stronger degree than thus far, the decisive basic condition for a stable and planned development in our country as in all other socialist countries."¹⁰

In contrast to the integration processes in the imperialist system, the interests of the participating states are not being subordinated to those of the strongest states in this process of implementing socialist economic integration. In imperialism forces arise, in the transnational monopolies, that can have devastating effects on national economies of entire countries. In CEMA, no sovereign rights of the various participating states are curtailed, but their possibilities are being expanded through their joint access to additional economic potentials. "Any recommendations and resolutions," so it is stated in Article 4 of the CEMA statute, "are accepted by the council only upon agreement from the interested member countries of the council. They do not extend to countries who have announced they are not interested in the matter concerned." And so the CEMA principle remains assured: "CEMA is based on the principles of sovereign equality among all CEMA member countries" (Article 1). No unilateral dependencies arise that could lead to restraints on economic and overall political development. This cooperation on equal terms rather accelerates the economic growth of all fraternal socialist countries. At the same time possibilities arise for fighting, through close cooperation, and effectively, against the discrimination and barriers to international cooperation on equal terms, which are being maintained by imperialist circles, and for overcoming them. And so socialist economic integration also turns out to be a factor for strengthening the various socialist states and for making them blossom all

around. In contrast to it, "EEC decisions are decisions of the majority of its members" (Article 148), with the various members not having the same number of votes. Taking advantages of the various member states and rulings that limit their sovereignties are standard procedure in that imperialist affiliation. To that end, elections are now being prepared for a parliament of the "European Community." It, according to the FRG Foreign Minister, is supposed to "assume greater rights permanently."¹¹ The further dangers threatening the sovereignty of the member states thereby are already producing anxiety and contradictions among the participants.

Reciprocal political relations among the fraternal socialist countries taking place on the highest level, on the level of governments and ministries, the meetings among parliamentarians and public representatives for discussing topical problems of their cooperation and of international affairs, expanding mutual information and exchange of experiences about socialist and communist construction, and the promotion of contacts between state and social organizations and the work collectives insure the attention to the interests of all fraternal countries and the use of their experiences. Thus the genuine fraternal peoples alliance is deepening, welded together through identical convictions and common purposes, which all is reflected in their ever growing friendly relations.

For more than 2 decades already has the coordination of foreign policy action, in the interest of peace, security, cooperation and the peoples' independence, been going on within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. It is the decisive force that in recent years has brought about fundamental positive changes in international relations and has turned detente into a predominant trend. The turn in international relations initiated is the result of all participating states' cooperation on equal terms, leading to the 14 May 1955 treaty "in the interest of the further consolidation and development of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid, in conformity with the principles on the respect for the independence and sovereignty of the states and for the nonintervention in their internal affairs." This cooperation has proven itself and stood up throughout the last 20 years as a guarantee for strengthening the sovereignty and realizing the interests of each participating state. It has been precisely their working together that made it possible for all member states to enforce common basic interests, which would never have been possible through separate approaches. Who could in all seriousness raise the claim in view of the Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin or Prague treaties of the first half of the '70's that the concerted procedures they entailed had damaged or in any way set back the sovereignty of the participating states. In the Warsaw Pact, unlike NATO, the stronger state does not dominate the weaker, and the states are not subjected to a coercive arms race or tied to an adventurous policy that endangers the peace and contradicts their national interests. No conflicts of interests are settled to the detriment of any participating state in the Warsaw Pact. No hegemonial drives are carried out here. Nor are the participating states kept in confrontation with other states in Europe or the world against their own will, as it were, or the will of their peoples.

The cooperation among the countries of the socialist community, finally, is being consolidated in the field of culture, the exchange of values of literature and art and in the field of contacts among art affiliations, partnership areas and towns. The development of tourist relations and affiliations among citizens are being promoted. This intellectual-cultural cooperation and the contacts serve the purpose of reinforcing the bonds of friendship among the peoples and nations through creating respect for their traditions and customs. These humanistic values are exchanged systematically and purposefully. All this is completely contrary to cultural relations in the imperialist system which, in most of the states there, are marked by an alienation and impoverishment of cultural life. There, exchange is subject to the drive for gain and profit, not to its proper democratic and humanistic function. Thus in socialist society fundamental changes have occurred especially also with regard to the history of neighboring peoples, a history loaded down by a heavy legacy. An instructive example here is the friendly and intensive fellowship and cooperation today between the peoples of the GDR and Poland.

Equality and nonintervention are also in this field characteristic of the cooperation among the states of the socialist community. They also here serve the rapprochement in progress.

It is becoming increasingly clear today: Precisely in the relations among the socialist countries and in the development of their cooperation the democratic principles of state relations also find their most extensive application and realization. That is not a coincidence. It demonstrates the historic fact that socialism amounts to democracy in its full maturity and can bring it to realization in its totality.

FOOTNOTES

1. That, for example, was the meat of the charges by U.S. State Department representative Sonnenfeldt in December 1975 and on 12 April 1976.
2. Such and similar claims were made, for example, after the signing of the 7 October 1975 GDR-USSR friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty. The West German specialist in international law, Th. Schweisfurth, for instance, claims the 7 October 1975 GDR-USSR treaty "disavowed the CSCE Final Act in central points of its declaration of principles," in EUROPA ARCHIV, Bonn, 1975, No 24, p 763.
3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 60.
4. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p 479.
5. Cf. PRAVDA, Moscow, 9 October 1976.
6. Ibid.

7. "Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 137.
8. L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 1976, pp 25 f.
9. CEMA Documents, Berlin, 1971, pp 15 f.
10. "Bericht des ZK . . .," loc. cit., p 76.
11. BULLETIN DES PRESSE- UND INFORMATIONSAEMTES DER BUNDESREGIERUNG, Bonn, No 104, 21 September 1976, p 1046.

5885

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EAST GERMANY

DEVELOPMENT OF EAST BERLIN UP TO 1980 OUTLINED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 82, 14 Jul 77 pp 5-6

[Report by Press Office of Chairman, GDR Council of Ministers: "Facts and Figures: On the Development of the GDR Capital Through 1980"]

[Text] The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan poses the task of further developing Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, as a political, economic and intellectual-cultural center. The seat of the leadership of the party of the working class and of the state and of all social forces of the republic, Berlin is a city of science, culture and the arts, a metropolis, which reflects with increasing clarity the achievements and ideals of our socialist nation. To erect a beautiful Berlin in which its citizens and guests from all bezirks of the republic and from all over the world feel at home is a comprehensive and complex task. It requires considerable further improvement of the working conditions of the working people, their housing conditions, the achievements of trade, services, health and social welfare, but also of the cultural possibilities. This also includes creating all prerequisites and conditions for developing the effectiveness and productivity of labor in an even more purposive and planned manner.

With its 403 square kilometers and 1.1 million inhabitants, Berlin is the biggest industrial city of the GDR. In a very tight area, apartments and parks, industry and transport, trade and commerce and sports and recreational areas are concentrated there. The more than 600,000 working people of the capital produce about 6 percent of the industrial production and 9 percent of the construction of the republic. The enterprises of the electrical industry engaged in production in the capital are playing a decisive role in the industry of the republic.

In addition to the traditional branches of machine building, the electrical industry and the manufacture of appliances, the chemical industry and light industry, new branches of industry have developed in the past few years. Suffice it to mention enterprises of electronics, data processing or metrology, automatic control and signal technology. These all have key significance for increasing the productivity and effectiveness of the economy of the republic, and thus for further increasing the standard of living of the working people of the GDR.

In Berlin, research and teaching in the interest of the entire economy is taking place at 150 scientific institutions, headed by the Academy of Science of the GDR and Humboldt University. Putting it in different terms: about one-fifth of the scientific potential of the GDR is concentrated in the capital. Finally, Berlin is also the seat of numerous institutes of arts and culture enjoying an international reputation. About one-third of the creative artistic intelligentsia is active and lives in Berlin.

Particular attention is being devoted to housing construction, the core of the social policy program of the party of the working class. The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan provides for the construction in Berlin of 55,000 to 57,000 apartments and for the modernization of about 20,000. In the center of the construction activity is the building up of the Ninth District in the north-east of the city. By the end of 1980, about 20,000 apartments and the pertinent social installations will be completed there.

Although lying on the fringe of the compact city, the Ninth District will be integrated in a planned manner in the overall organism of the capital. It is exactly 8 kilometers north of Leninplatz. A throughfare -- Leninallee and Landsberger Chaussee -- connect it directly with the center of the city. The Ninth District is being made up of the residential areas of Biesdorf, Kaulsdorf, Mahlsdorf, part of the industrial area of Lichtenberg/Northeast and the new housing and social buildings. From 1985, a total of 170,000 citizens of the capital will live there, i.e., in the 35,000 newly built apartments.

The new district is divided into three viable housing areas, with the main center being built as a boulevard sector. A great number of commercial establishments and restaurants are being accommodated on the ground floors of residential housing. A recreational area extending over about 200 hectares is to resemble the Friedrichshain and Prenzlauer Berg park areas, which are known beyond the borders of the city. As early as last fall, the first fast-growing trees and shrubs were planted for that purpose.

Meanwhile the Ninth District has been made accessible by public transit. Already since the end of last year, a new line of the S-Bahn [intraurban electric railroad] has been running via Friedrichsfelde/East to Marzahn. About three-quarters of the future inhabitants will be able to reach 175 stations by foot in no more than 10 minutes. The ride to Alexanderplatz in the center of the city will take only 21 minutes.

Striking though the center and the big new housing areas are, most Berliners still live in old housing areas. In accordance with the tasks set by the Ninth SED Congress, their housing conditions must be improved through modernization.

This is gradually to make null and void Berlin's bad reputation, inherited from capitalism, of being one of the biggest tenement houses of the world.

In addition to new construction of housing, great attention must therefore be devoted to the complex reconstruction and modernization of whole inner city old housing areas.

The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan provides for rebuilding and developing about 3,600 old apartments at Arnimplatz in the Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg District, making them equal in convenience to newly constructed housing. At Arkonaplatz in the Berlin-Center District, about 1,000 apartments are being modernized, and in Karl-Lade-Strasse in the Berlin-Lichtenberg District more than 700 apartments are being connected to a central heating system.

Through 1980, modernization will take place predominantly in areas in which no, or only very little, housing will have to be torn down. After 1980, increased reconstruction of old housing will commence. The structure of the city will be maintained in the process. Old streets and squares, typical of Berlin and well known, are to be beautified. For instance, in the Berlin-Center District south of Wilhelm-Pieck Strasse, the area of Sophienstrasse/Hackischer Markt/Grosse Hamburger Strasse is to be reconstructed as a piece of Old Berlin. Valuable facades and fragments of architecture will be preserved. At one time, the shops of traditional and rare trades, such as those of goldsmiths, cabinetmakers and engravers, were concentrated there.

Workers, particularly construction workers from all over the republic, have been and are busy making Berlin increasingly attractive. In the center of the city or in the new housing areas of the districts of Pankow, Lichtenberg or Koepenick, in the Berlin electrical industry and electronics combines, in the supply industry and in transport, they help solve the tasks leading to the further development of the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

The Five-Year Plan provides for construction amounting to about 15.2 billion marks, with the share contributed by the central construction combines and enterprises from other bezirks of the republic amounting to 4.4 billion marks. For the maintenance and care of construction workers, further workers' homes, enterprise restaurants and a polyclinic are being created, for example, as well as facilities for health, cultural and sports care.

Enterprises of the bezirks, or the central building combines, assume the complete manufacture of individual construction projects from underground construction to finishing work. Thus it is possible to make long-term plans and dispositions and see to speedy implementation. For example, workers from the bezirks of Erfurt, Gera, Potsdam, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg, Halle and Karl-Marx-Stadt are working on completing Leipziger Strasse. Construction workers from Rostock are working on the modernization and restoration in old housing areas in the Friedrichshain District, construction workers from Frankfurt in the Prenzlauer Berg District and masons from the Gera Bezirk in the Lichtenberg District.

Workers of the various bezirks are bringing their experience, their skill, their knowledge and their architectural specialties to Berlin. The Holzmarkstrasse shopping hall at the Jannowitzbruecke S-Bahn station, erected by construction workers from Neubrandenburg, is being decorated by a long brick wall -- a peculiarity recalling the traditional brick constructions in that bezirk town. By utilizing proven projects from the bezirks, time, labor, money and materials are being saved. In the development of the Ninth District as well, individual premises and whole ensembles of collectives from the bezirks are to be created independently by utilizing their best experience and building traditions. The achievements of these building enterprises and architects are then to be pointed out for everyone to see, thus expressing appreciation for the collective labor of the workers of the republic for the further development of their capital.

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CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

HUMAN RIGHTS IN UNITED STATES EXAMINED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 7-8, Jul-Aug 77 pp 86-97

[Article by Tibor Koves, MTI editor in chief for foreign affairs: "Human Rights in the United States"]

[Text] According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, chief foreign policy advisor to the 39th president of the United States, the first hundred-and-some days of James Carter's presidency were the start of "historically significant changes," the "beginning of the re-establishment of self-confidence" in the Western world, which is trying to climb out of the whirlpool of crises and find itself.

Brzezinski's characterization of the situation prior to the Carter government's assumption of power--a situation which, according to the president's chief advisor, is now a thing of the past--was that the West went through a cultural (!) crisis, which began first in the United States, and lasted almost 15 years; at the same time, during the last few years, the West also lived through an economic crisis, which was accompanied at first by accelerating inflation, later by recession.

So much for the "situation analysis." What followed immediately after this, is the "authentic" story of an amazing miracle. According to the chief presidential advisor's final conclusion, it is due to the public and frequent repetition of the two magic words "human rights" that a kind of rapidly spreading "contagious self-confidence" has covered the Western world, suddenly liberating it from its decade-and-a-half old "cultural" crisis. "I consider the self-confidence epidemic to be of absolutely vital importance," said Brzezinski, "from the viewpoint of the democratic society's ability to live, and it is my opinion that this (the 'self-confidence epidemic') is tied to the United States and to Carter's person.... I believe that Carter represents something fresh, something idealistic, which they can identify with America.... According to the results of public opinion polls in our possession, 79 percent of those asked in West Germany agreed with (Carter's) views on human rights. Similarly, his views also met with well over 60 percent support elsewhere on the continent. This shows something. If I were a Western European politician, I would think about this. It is my feeling that we will hear the words 'human rights' more often..."

Thus, according to Brzezinski, the formula for the miracle drug recommended to the attention of the Western European politicians could cure the "Western democracies" of all their ills, the detailing of the reasons and all-too-well known symptoms of which he did not wish to enter into. But from his references it appeared unambiguously that he was referring to that last, decade-and-a-half long stage of the--by his characteristic definition--"cultural" crisis which began in the United States, which started with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and continued with the "political deaths" of the next three presidents--Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford--after that event. To that process of crisis culminating in the Vietnam war, the Negro ghetto uprisings and the Watergate scandal, in which the CIA's and the FBI's foreign and domestic "dirty tricks" were uncovered (though the "undecipherable" threads of the foreign and domestic political murders continue to remain in obscure mystery), some light was shed on the purchasing of domestic and foreign politicians through bribery, on official lies, on the corruption covering everything and everyone from the lowest levels of the government and business world to the highest echelons. The civil rights movement of the second and third-rate citizens demanding a part of the "American dream" encountered unresolvable socio-economic obstacles during these years, and the flames rising high in the slums of the big cities shone into the hitherto invisible depths of the "society of plenty," while the uncontrollable swelling of the crime wave, the atmosphere of general fear made people prisoners in their own homes. And on top of all of these, the last 40 years' most destructive economic crisis occurred, depriving millions of their most basic human right, and of the financial precondition of all other rights to freedom, the right to socially useful creative activity, the only life opportunity worthy of man.

And this "cultural" crisis which fundamentally shook the American socio-political system, and as a total result of which the respect for the entire structure of the two-party system and of the governmental-political institutions sank to the lowest point of all times, according to Brzezinski's thesis, came to an end with one stroke, with Carter's coming to power. And it did so solely because the new president--according to the words of his chief political advisor--"represents something fresh, something idealistic, which they can identify with America..."

Did such a radical turn really take place during the barely 100 days in the foundations and structure of the American society, as Brzezinski's theory suggests?

And: is it something really "fresh" that President Carter represents? Why is that "something idealistic" reflected in what, by any kind of objective measure, can solely be identified with America--in the American social reality? And how does the repetition of this magic word, recommended as a miraculous formula, contribute to the actual realization of human rights in that country which began its national existence with the declaration of that "self-evident truth" that "all men are created equal, and are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; among them, the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?"

According to the present commentators of the two basic documents of the American political system--the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution--these philosophical declarations account for their "special origins," different from all other nations, and the "American dream's" source, inexhaustible even today, feeds from this. The "American dream," the common theory of the Founding Fathers' once-leading philosophical-political idea system, which was in most recent times simplified for mass consumption, has been called upon in innumerable interpretations to prove almost everything--and the opposite of everything.

The program-defining inauguration speech of James Carter, 39th president of the United States, was built on the "American dream." In his inauguration speech published with the title "New Spirit, New Obligations, New America," the new president said the following: "Two centuries ago, the birth of our nation was a milestone in the long search for freedom. But this brave and brilliant dream which drove the founders of our nation, is still awaiting fulfillment.... We have already achieved a high degree of personal freedom, and we are now fighting to promote the freedom of opportunities. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute.... I would like to hope that at the time of the end of my presidency, people will be able to say this ...we have assured respect for the law and equal treatment before the law for the weak and the powerful, for the rich and the poor alike..."

Of course, this declaration of faith in the official American system of values is "fresh" only to the extent that for two centuries, every single new president offered fresh opportunities in his inaugural speech for the renewal of the "absolute commitment" to the basic principles of social philosophy contained in the Declaration of Independence. This is not changed at all by the historical fact that in the meanwhile, the 18th century's agrarian society, in which Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence believed the principles of equality and freedom of the age of enlightenment to be realizable, has changed so much, it cannot be recognized. Jefferson could still sincerely believe in his idealistic picture: a republic populated with independent peasantry, with borders expanding, in the simple village democracy of which, equal and free people can seek their happiness unmolested by the government. But even Thomas Paine, Jefferson's contemporary, recognized that equating equality with equality of political rights, in reality fosters inequality, since the society of the American Founding Fathers was, as a matter of course, divided into slave-owning landowners, rich merchants and into paupers, or what is even more, into slaves deprived even of their own human identities.

The possibility of contradicting itself was already inherently hidden in the ideological duality of the Declaration of Independence. Yet, being theoretically ahead of the economic-social reality of its age based on primitive agricultural-artisan production, lent ideological driving force for a longer historical era to the development of American capitalism, becoming stronger amid the free market's equal conditions of competition.

On this ground, Jefferson's system of principles went through multiple metamorphoses: individual happiness became identified with the idea of individual success, and this latter with the idea of becoming rich; the principle of freedom became transformed into the legal prerequisite of the formula of happiness-success-richness, that is, the "freedom of acquiring," which--by its own system of means--can be realized through "free enterprise," on "free market," in "free competition"; money, the universal equalizing value was called upon to validate the principles of equality on the free market, since there each and every dollar equals any other dollar, and thus to assure an "equal chance" for every entrepreneur, that is, the "equal opportunity" for financial success, or, the "pursuit of happiness."

This system of principles of equality+freedom+happiness, which has gone through multiple transformations of essence, ultimately becomes socially obsolete when in the last third of the last century, the American capitalism's "free competition," which began to grow with stormy speed, gives birth to the opposing entity which excludes it--to monopoly capitalism. This latter, eradicating the economic foundations of the free-market capitalism, simultaneously saved and to this day maintained the "free competition's" obsolete ideology even for the present era of state-monopoly capitalism.

This seeming contradiction--that is, that the ideological system of free competition capitalism is in its umpteenth "renaissance" when it already ceased to exist long ago as an economic, social or legal fact--can clearly be recognized also in the quoted passage of President Carter's inaugural speech. The American dream is still awaiting realization, says the new president, and--two centuries after declaring the "self-evident" truth of human equality, we are still "fighting to promote equality of opportunity." And to do so in such a way that--hoping that his presidency would some day be famous for it--"we have assured...equal treatment before the law, for the weak and the strong, for the rich and the poor..." In other words: the new president promises the realization of the elemental rules of the game of civil order--legally equal judging of unequal people--also only as a program to be realized in the future, for abridging the ever widening social abyss between the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich.

The past is a preface for the future. And neither the more distant, nor the more recent past seem to prove that "freshness" of his words, which--according to his chief advisor--started a real "self-confidence epidemic" in the capitalist world. Because what is changed in respect to the realization of human rights by the fact that the 39th president of the United States, like all his predecessors, again recommits himself to the doctrine of "equality before the law?" A substantially more original thought than this is the one recognized and pronounced over 2,000 years ago by Aristotle: at least as much unfairness stems from the equal treatment of unequals as does from unequal treatment among equals.

Marxist philosophy defined this really obvious truth even more precisely while analyzing the problem of "civil inheritance" of the new social order which will replace capitalism. Lenin points it out in his "State and

Revolution," speaking of the scientific difference between socialism and communism, that Marx had in general crushed theoretically the cloudy petit-bourgeois phrases about "equality" and "truth" in general. Of course, we cannot expect the president of the richest capitalist power to examine the realization of equality and of human rights in general in the American social reality according to the measure of scientific socialism, in the Marxist-Leninist system of thinking. But how do the theses of his own system of values--the civil system of values referring to Jefferson's principles of freedom--gain realization in the United States?

"...We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal..." Except, of course, if created as a girl, a Negro, "colored" or poor. And those women who seek legal recourse, because they receive 35-40 percent lower wages in the same job for the same work as do men, cannot even refer to the violation of the Constitution, because the American Constitution--contrary to the belief of the great majority of Americans--never included in its basic laws the equality of people without regard to sex, race, religious or political conviction. The word "equality" does not occur either in the Constitution, or in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution known as the "Bill of Rights," nor in any of the later ratified amendments to the Constitution--26 in all!

The American Congress voted 5 years ago--after several years of delays--for the 27th Amendment to the Constitution which says: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." This amendment to the Constitution--according to the Constitution--can only become effective if 38 of the 50 member states of the federation of states ratifies it. In 5 years, 30 states ratified the amendment to the Constitution, 15 rejected it, and another 5 have not yet made decisions. Unless all the remaining states vote in the affirmative, and at least 3 of the states rejecting the amendment to the Constitution review their earlier decisions, the larger half of the population will this time again not be successful in having the principle of "equality" entered into the Constitution in the question touching upon their basic human rights.

Constitutional protection or not, we might believe that the situation of women is slowly-gradually improving in the home of "equal opportunities." On the contrary: according to the study recently prepared by the American Department of Labor, 20 years ago the average income of working women was 64 percent of the average income of man; since then--13 years after passing the federal law about the principle of paying equal wages for equal work to men and women, and 12 years after creating the "Equal Employment Opportunity Government Commission"--this ratio decreased to 57 percent! The number of working women increased from 18 million in 1950, 29 percent of the entire workforce, to 39 million in 1977, 41 percent of the entire workforce. It is not difficult to calculate that the extra profit derived from that 43 percent lower average wage of 39 million working women, many tens of billions of dollars annually, are a much stronger reason than the so often cited "self-evident truth" of the founding fathers.

Hearing the never tiring American politicians speak about motherhood and family with lofty words, we might think that the expectant American mothers are surrounded there by society's special care. Well, on 7 December 1976, the Supreme Court--composed solely of men since its inception--the Constitution's highest guardian and interpreter, decided that working women are not entitled to pay during their maternity leaves. Justifying the 6:3 decision of the nine-member Supreme Court, Justice Rehnquist explained: denial of pay for the time of maternity leave cannot be considered an injury to equal rights, because it does not deny women any kind of benefits to which men would otherwise also be entitled. Men--noted the wise judge appropriately--do not give birth to children. Thus, according to this, we could recognize the consistent realization of equality before the law in the fact that 43 women lost their case instituted jointly against their employer, General Electric, which employs 100,000 women. This "victory" of the principle of equality--pointed out the spokesman of General Electric--represents a \$1.3 billion savings annually to the business world nationwide. Which, of course, is a relatively small bonus compared to the tens of billions "saved" on the average incomes of women.

Naturally, in women's "average incomes," mockery is made not only of the principle of equal pay for equal work, but also of the opportunity for fulfillment of the feminine individual's human personality, praised and elevated to a pedestal--in words. What, for example, in many developed countries has become a vocation open to women also, is not that in the United States: it required 40 years to increase the ratio of female physicians from 5 to 7 percent. At the time of the latest census--in 1970--there were only three countries in the world where the ratio of woman doctors was lower than in the United States: South Vietnam, Madagascar and Spain. Women's representation in scientific work was 8 percent, and 3 percent among the legal profession. The ratio of women engineers was not even recorded in the statistics, because it did not even reach 1 percent. Their ratio in higher education was lower than in 1920, and only 1 percent of the women working in government offices reached the 13th pay category (13.5 percent of the men reached this same category).

Yet, white women can consider themselves "fortunate" compared to their Negro contemporaries, whose average income lags about 20 percent behind that of their white colleagues. (The average income of Negro men in 1972 was 61 percent of the average income of white men.)

Of course, the statistical averages say nothing about how "equal opportunities" are realized in the crumbling, rat and roach-infested houses of the Negro ghettos; where every third Negro woman lives alone with her children, abandoned, forced to live on social welfare, because the black man--according to official statistics, presently 17 percent of them are unemployed--are escaping en masse from the hopelessness; where 40-60 percent of the teenagers getting out of school, and who, as a result of education assured in the spirit of "equal opportunities," can barely read and write,

are unemployed; and where entire generations grow up without ever having the opportunity for even the most elementary of the preconditions of human dignity--useful activity and pay due for it.

What opportunities are open for the Negroes forced to the bottom of the social pyramid, 12 percent of the population--25 million people--in the "land of equal opportunities?" Can a Negro become "middle-income middle-American," or even capitalist? Undoubtedly, the individual Negro--even several tens of thousands of individual Negroes--can. But Negroes as a class, never. After the era of mass-immigrations ended in the 20's, the last large migration in society took place in the form of internal "people migration" by the mass migration of the Negroes forming the agrarian proletariat of the southern plantations into the large cities of the northern industrial areas, there is no vacant space above the Negroes as a class for improvement of their lot. Just as there is no layer of the population, either--not even the "Chicanos" streaming into the country illegally from Mexico--which would be ready to occupy its place.

Recognition of the formal legal equality of the Negroes as a class even if not in the Constitution, but in its interpretation in the most recent era--did not pull out the socioeconomic roots of discrimination due to race, but made it even more obvious. The Negroes--legally liberated and having won civil rights and the right to vote, but socially-economically still without a change locked into the slums of the big city ghettos--are unavoidably getting into more and more heated conflict with the "America of plenty," the white middle classes retreating to the rings of the peripheral garden suburbs and with the force-organizations of white power. This conflict, appearing in racial form, breeds fears in which the rational and irrational elements are swirling in a confusion feeding on each other, confusing cause and effect, separating the phenomenon from its historic socioeconomic origins, connecting crime, the use of drugs, rape, rampant moral laxity, the general deterioration of urban form of life and public conditions to the color of skin.

In the absence of a positive alternative--which even the most liberal American politicians could not, or dared not offer--dissatisfaction and emotion seek a scapegoat, and only selected individuals or well distinguishable minorities are suitable for this role.

For 32 million citizens of the United States, or 15 percent of its population, the principle of freedom, in an individualist form--according to which, freedom is essentially an "individual choice"--becomes the source of unresolvable conflict as a matter of course, by virtue of the bare fact that they came into this world with black, brown, yellow or red skin. For them, the opportunity of "individual choice" is immediately limited by their actual class situation, occupied in the system of civil relationships, and clouded in the system of these relationships by relentlessly fostered racial prejudices. In a society, in which the dominant class makes its narrow class-interests, defined in the "fundamental values" of individualism, appear as universal interests for every single member of

society--deifying the principle of "individual success" through the incessantly outpouring information-avalanche of "mass information" and advertising--those who because of their skin color can never become "typically American men of success" are put, from the very beginning of their lives, at a disadvantage which can never be made up. The spectacular careers of black sports stars placed in the limelight, stars of the entertainment industry and other individuals "rising from depths to heights" are designated to help forget this objective, socioeconomic fact which can be demonstrated statistically with clinical accuracy, even in the eyes of those--according to euphemistic official word usage--"in disadvantageous situations." But all this changes nothing regarding the fact that in 1975--according to the most recent official evaluation encompassing the country's 56.2 million families--the one-fifth of the population with the highest income (exceeding \$20,000 annually) received 43.4 percent of the total income, while the lowest one-fifth (under \$5,000 annual income) received 4.3 percent of the total income. In 1947, 30 years ago, the upper one-fifth of the population with the highest income had a share of 43.3 percent, that is, almost exactly as much as in 1975, while the lowest one-fifth of the population had 5.1 percent of the income, their share of the "nation's cake." Apart from the fact that the "slice of the cake" for the poorest has become relatively thinner, the ratios of income distribution, which reflect perhaps the world's most rigidly solidified income-unevenness, and behind it the world's most extreme unevenness of wealth, changed practically not at all in 30 years--and barely changed since the beginning of the century!

According to 1975 data, 20 percent of the population, or over 40 million people lived below the officially established "poverty level" of \$4,600 at the time, or at its borders, and a further 20 percent just barely exceeded that level. (The study by the Department of Labor prepared in 1970, established the minimum level of existence for a family of 4 with a \$7,183 annual income as "acceptably decent"; in 1976 this minimal existence increased to over \$10,000 annually.)

Since the social "color scale" is in many respects reminiscent of the gradations of the income scale from its darkest skinned, lowest group to the gradually "whitening" grades upward, the class conflicts growing between the poverty level and the super-rich peak lost in the obscurity of statistics are being transformed by the racial demagoguery into socially self-dangerous, high-tension "racial conflicts," self-destructive in the long run, placing the (assumedly industrious) white worker in opposition with the (assumedly lazy) Negroes and other "coloreds."

This transformation of class conflicts makes it at the same time possible for the American "dream machinery" to create the image of the "middle-income middle-American," designed to bridge the chasm between the "middle-American's" presently about \$13,000 annual "middle-income" and the annually \$700,000 to \$1 million salary of the directors of mammoth-concerns (not counting their significantly higher stock and interest incomes).

In the final analysis, the existence of the monopoly capitalist class-domination depends on whether they succeed in re-establishing faith in the "American dream"--as President Carter urges it--which now substitutes the right to "pursuit of happiness" with the promise of opportunity to "raise to the level of the middle-class." To wit, it is the thesis of American ideologists that as richness increases, "everyone will have an always increasing share of the national cake," and thus the inequalities will "fade away" with time, or, that everyone or nearly everyone "can rise to the level of middle class, which lives as the rich do"--suffered a blow which will be difficult to recover from, in the most serious economic crisis of the last 40 years. The uncertainty of existence coupled with record levels of unemployment even in the era of economic upswing and of inflation which has been perceptibly eroding real incomes even since then, shook the holiest item of the creed of "American way of life," according to which "life today is better than it was yesterday, but tomorrow it will be better than today."

That "cultural crisis" about which chief presidential advisor Brzezinski spoke, is expressed most generally in the wavering of this belief, and from which he expects healing by the fact that President Carter, representing "something fresh," reconfirmed his "absolute commitment" to human rights.

But who still remembers today, for example, President Nixon's "new American revolution?" But only 6 years have elapsed since the 37th president of the United States presented his "income-sharing" program to congress, followed by these words:

"...This Congress can become remembered by opening the way for the New American Revolution--for a peaceful revolution in which power is given back to the people; in which government is refreshed and renewed at every level, and becomes truly receptive. This can be just as deeply cutting, far-reaching and exciting revolution as the first one was 200 years ago..." Today, 99 out of 100 Americans would probably bend themselves into the shape of a living questionmark if the question were put to them: when did this "new American revolution" begin, and how did it end?

The forgetfulness cannot be blamed on the short memory of Americans so much--though the "dream machinery" builds the wording of its obsolete goods placed on the market in new packaging upon this--but much rather on the accelerating moral decay of the "permanent American revolution," reaching back to the idea-system of the founding fathers. The American history may appear--if we review it only on the basis of the program-giving declarations of the occupants of the White House, following one after the other as the history of the unbroken chain of presidential "revolutions." This custom, which has stiffened into a tradition--that is, that almost every individual president entering office celebrates the beginning of his own presidency as the daybreak of a "new revolution"--actually began with Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, and 3d president of the United States. Even he--barely 24 years after the birth of the new nation--greeted his own entering into power as victory won over "tyrannical despotism," as the "revolution of 1800."

Many have followed his example. Particularly since Abraham Lincoln, it has become a sort of unwritten rule that every new resident of the White House--quoting the words of the most outstanding president of American history--would assure his countrymen of the "rebirth of freedom" and that the nation will be lead until the ends of time "by a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

But the "government of the people, by the people and for the people"--in a characteristic manner--seemed to be embodied always only in the new government taking office. In this century almost every new president promised to "give America back to its own people," or, to "give the power back to the people." The American historians have not succeeded even to this day in resolving that curious contradiction that somehow the "people's power" always disappeared through the hands of the predecessors, which then the successors later had to restore, even though the predecessors misusing the power also obviously entered the White House as successors.

In any case, it is a historical fact: this century began by President Theodore Roosevelt announcing a "crusade" against the mammoth trusts suffocating the little people, and promising a "Square Deal," or "decent distribution" to the workers and farmers. In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt again promised "decent distribution," but this time they remained losers against the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Woodrow Wilson, who on the other hand promised the voters "New Freedom," the realization of "new freedom."

Wilson's "New Freedom" disappeared without a trace in the sharp upswing instigated by World War I, then in the rolling sea of economic crisis following it.

After the "liberal perpetrators," the trust chiefs and bank princes desired tranquility. Their candidate, the new Republican president taking office, Warren Harding, promised exactly this: "return to normalcy." President Harding defined the idea of "normalcy" this way: "We want an era in America when there is less government in business and more business in government."

His successor, Calvin Coolidge, similarly professed that "the business of America is business." The same was also the opinion of Herbert Hoover, the president who took office at the height of the business upswing in 1929, who assured his voters that "the American system of raw individualism" has brought the "final banishment of poverty" into achievable proximity, and further, that with his government the "age of eternal prosperity" had arrived.

At the lowest point of the great economic world crisis which broke out a few months later, in 1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt announced in his speech accepting the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, that if he is elected, a "New Deal," or "new distribution" will begin, "I pledge," he said, "that the American people will share in new distribution.... Let us all be prophets of the new order of know-how and courage.... This is more than a political campaign--this is a call to arms! Help me not just to get votes, but to win this crusade, which will give America back to its own people."

In his third presidential election campaign in 1940, Franklin Roosevelt projected the vision of "America without poverty and monopolies" before the voters, of an America in which the "economic, cultural and educational opportunities open up before everyone," and in which "the caring government assures a fair share of the national income for every working man."

Compared to the "square deal," the only new thing in the "new deal" was that the "caring government" also joined here in the dealing of the old cards. Though the rules of the game did not change after this either, the government, making sure that the rules are obeyed, attempts after this to channel back from the plentiful profits at least enough to the masses, who are always the losers, so that they would not even consider kicking over the playing table.

The age of "state regulation" of monopoly capitalism in America begins with the "New Deal," according to the formula of John Maynard Keynes, the English economist. In the economic governing role of the government, playing the keys of money, credit and budget policies, they thought to have discovered the secrets of crisis-free unlimited industrial growth and of the "forever accelerating re-manufacturing" driven by the motor of "self-generating consumption." Herbert Spencer, the most consistent prophet of the capitalism of "free competition," lost his credibility during the economic-social catastrophe of the Great Depression. The old liberals rejected Spencer and his system of beliefs, when the free rein of the law of the jungle was beginning to be dangerous even for the large beasts of prey. The old liberals transformed into "new liberals" and joined Professor Keynes, founder of the theory of "society with regulated consumption."

Harry Truman--stepping into the place of Franklin Roosevelt, who died in the first year of his fourth mandate, at the time of the relatively mild economic recession following World War II--was satisfied with the rebaptizing of the slightly faded New Deal, announcing the "Fair Deal," or "just distribution." And after the American people, during a half century had part in "square deal," "new freedom," "normalcy," "eternal prosperity," "new deal" and "fair deal," President Eisenhower coming into power in 1952 interpreted his authorization simply as the "mandate of change" without bothering particularly to define more closely the essence of "change."

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, entering a facilitator of the "revolution of the turn of the generation" had some difficulties in finding his political trademark. "Place America into motion again"--promised Kennedy while he was still a senator in pursuit of the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. Into motion, but which way? Naturally, to the frontier... this seemed obvious, since the word frontier recalled the great era of the pioneers steadily expanding westward the borders of the continent-sized country. But to what frontier? Naturally--towards the "new frontier..." This is how the password of "New Frontier" was born.

In his speech accepting the presidential nomination, John Kennedy defined his program as follows: "The New Frontier about which I speak is not a collection of promises but an accumulation of challenges.... It would be easy to shrink back from this frontier, to escape back into the past's secure mediocrity. But I am convinced that time demands discovery, renewal, imagination and decision. I call upon you to all become pioneers of the New Frontier."

Thirty-two years after President Franklin Roosevelt pledged: he will fundamentally change the system in which "one-third of the nation is undernourished, poorly dressed and lives in misery," President Lyndon B. Johnson again discovered that "one-fifth of the nation lives in poverty." Though others estimated the ratio of those of the nation living in poverty at one-fourth or one-third, this does not change the substance, only the ratio of bankruptcy of the new liberals believing in the "equalizing mechanism of the consumer society."

Accepting the legacy of the New Deal, Lyndon B. Johnson also announced his own "revolution," the program of the "Great Society" in which he declared war on poverty--soon coupling it with his undeclared war started against Vietnam. Though he spent 10 times as much on the latter as on the former, he was destined to lose both. And with them was lost also the entire system of beliefs of the new liberalism, grown so big on the New Deal.

Next followed the 37th president of the United States, and the "New American Revolution" began. There is not too much difference in terms of time between the heights of the Jeffersonian system of ideas and the depths of the bottomless "unprincipledness" opening up in the Watergate case. Yet, special feelings must have filled today's generation of Americans brought up on the noble words of the Declaration of Independence, when at the height of the Watergate-scandal they heard these words from the principal trustee and highest ranking legal descendant of the Founding Fathers: "The American people must know whether their president is a crook or not. Well, I am not a crook. I have worked for everything I have. I have never profited from my public service activity. I worked for every cent...and never placed obstacles into the path of the administration of justice..."

And finally, when all denials proved useless and Richard Nixon had to go, again we heard from the mouth of his successor picked by him, the words so near historically, but which ring back ideologically from a past lost in astronomical distances: "My fellow countrymen, our long national nightmare has come to an end. Our Constitution is working. Our great republic has a government of laws, not of man. The people are in power here." So spoke Gerald Rudolph Ford, 38th president of the United States and the first president in American history to come into power not by election, immediately following the ceremonial words of the oath of office.

Thus according to the 38th president, the resignation of the 37th president did not only at one stroke end the "long national nightmare" endured in the Watergate case, but also demonstrated to the country and the world that the Constitution and the system "work," and also, that "the people are in power" in the United States.

The system really worked in its own way: as soon as the confidence crisis, spreading poison for a year and a half, almost crippling the government and driving respect for authority and political institutions to never before seen depths, brought up the question: "Nixon or the system?" the surgeons of power mercilessly amputated the person from the institution. But this artificial "head transplant" would be difficult to consider to be a manifestation of "power by the people," even if it were not common knowledge that only unbelievable luck--and not a little "legwork" behind the scenes--spared America from having the Constitutionally-designated successor candidate sitting in the White House today. That was Spiro Agnew, who "voluntarily" resigned his position as vice president, in exchange for no prosecution negotiated on 43 counts of accusations for tax evasion, blackmail in office and continuous bribes.

According to the explanation trumpeted to the world by the American propaganda machinery, Nixon's downfall was a triumph of the "free press" and of "democracy," and the corrupt political pile of scandals discovered in the Watergate case is nothing other than an "outgrowth strange to the system," a consequence of personal misdirectedness resulting purely from traits of character. In any case, that change of guard in which the 38th president replaced the 37th one, who in turn took over power from the 36th president who was forced to step down because of the Vietnam war, and had in turn taken the place of the murdered 35th president, occurred after very many personal errors. In these 11 years, four residents took turns in the White House: one was the victim of politically motivated murder, two became victims of suicidal politics and the fourth one inherited the crisis of the system which became rampant in the last decade and a half, without being authorized by elections.

This crisis of cumulative effect, spreading over every sphere of the social structure, did not begin with the Kennedy murder, as it did not end with Nixon's downfall, either. James Carter also agreed that Nixon's resignation did not solve the crisis. This is what he said in his speech accepting the Democratic Party's presidential nomination: "A tragic war abroad and scandals and broken promises here at home have shaken us.... Our people are searching for a new voice, new ideals, new leaders... 1976 will not be a usual political year... I can assure you that 1976 will be the year when we will give the country's government back to the country's people..."

Only 53 percent of the Americans entitled to vote took the trouble to live with their unalienable right guaranteed by the Constitution and participate "in the culmination of the democratic process," that is, in deciding, to which of the two presidential candidates to entrust the reestablishment of the "people's power."

Since in each individual presidential election, the opportunity of selection is narrowed down to one question, namely, that which of the two candidates screened out by the appropriate selection process appears to be "suitable" to "solve" the problem which happens to be most urgent at the time, or is made to appear so--it becomes understandable that the lack of belief in the possibility of positive change gains expression in the behavior of the largest "voting block." In those who, showing their total disinterest--in numbers and ratios increasing from election to election--vote "with their backs." Carter became "President of all Americans" with 41 million votes, with the ballots of 27 percent (!) of the 150 million Americans eligible to vote, while 47 percent (!) of those eligibles, or 70 million Americans, showed by staying away that they expected nothing and hoped for nothing from the personal changes taking place at the zenith of power.

After such immediate preliminaries, it is hardly surprising that chief presidential advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski classified that certain "self-confidence epidemic" to be "of absolutely vital importance from the viewpoint of the democratic society's ability to live," which he felt to have discovered at the London summit conference of the leading capitalist powers.

But wavering in the faith placed in the "American dream" was not caused--to use President Carter's words--by "errors committed in the recent past." "The error is in the equipment," in the socioeconomic reality defined by the property and class conditions of the American state-monopoly capitalism. Quoting the system of principles of the Founding Fathers, confirmation of "absolute commitment" to human rights, promises made to assure "promotion of the equality of opportunities" and "equal treatment before the law" do not change the class substance of the society based on private ownership of the means of production. Separating it from its financial conditions, the actual opportunities for the realization of human rights are fundamentally determined by the fact that 80 percent of the shares of stock of the mammoth corporations which rule every sphere of the sociopolitical life is in the hands of 1 percent of the population located at the peak of the social pyramid, and the lower 50 percent of the pyramid--half of the American people!--can say that they own 3 percent (!) of the nation's wealth. This is the econo-social reality in which it all becomes a nightmare as a matter of course what the American "dream machinery," playing on every string of mass-psychology, using every means of mass-communication, preaches about the realization of the "American dream" embodied in the "equalizing" consumption which is made a measure of human value.

If the Western European politicians really accept Brzezinski's suggestion and think about the possible effects of repeating the magic words "human rights," they will probably shrink back from the danger that the masses of people in their countries might take the application of this measure seriously for their own social circumstances. A danger great enough for them is hiding in the historically unavoidable comparison, which opens up before the capitalist countries' masses of people who seek a real alternative, in the socialist countries which have attacked the many thousands of years old, great problem of fate of the human rights of freedom at their econo-social roots and which are creating the material conditions for their increasingly richer realization.

TRAINING OF SENIOR BUREAUCRATS, HIGH LEVEL OFFICIALS REGULATED

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian 9 Jul 77 pp 724-726

[Decree No 25/1977 (VII. 9) of the Council of Ministers on the Building of a Training System of Government Leaders and Case Handlers]

[Text] In the interest of proper level performance of the ever increasing tasks before the government administration, comprehensive regulation of training requirements has become timely. Therefore, the Council of Ministers, placing into effect the unity of the triple (political, job and leadership ability) requirements lodged with respect to the leaders in the resolutions concerned with the work of government personnel, defines the training system of government officials and bureaucrats as follows:

General Regulations

Paragraph 1

The effects of the present order extended to -- with the exception of council governmental organs -- the central, intermediate level and local government organizations' top level workers and bureaucrats. Separate legal regulations contain the training requirements for council governmental organs.

Paragraph 2

(1) From the viewpoint of applying this order:

a) leadership positions are [defined as]: department assistant managers, department managers, major department assistant managers, major department managers, office assistant managers, office managers and workers in assignments at the same level as these;

b) case handlers are: group leaders and workers in assignments below this level, if their work is a case handling assignment.

(2) At the central governmental organs, office managers and workers in assignments at this same level are affected by this order only if there are also management personnel in higher level assignments than this at the given organization.

Paragraph 3

At the governmental organs affected by this order, for appointment to management and case handling activity and employment in such areas of work, political training, school education and professional training (experience) are necessary as specified by this order. The separate legal regulations must be used for management training and for continued training.

Training Requirements

Paragraph 4

(1) Top level political training is required for the fulfillment of major department manager and higher management jobs in the ministries and organs of national authority.

(2) The case handlers and the department assistant managers, department managers and major department assistant managers must have intermediate level political training at the ministries and organs of national authority.

(3) At intermediate level and local governmental organs, the requirements for political training are determined by the minister (or administrator of organ of national authority), with attention to those contained in sections (1) and (2) above. In doing this, independently from the person involved, the following must be taken into consideration:

- a) the character of the work performed, and, in the case of management activity, its level also;
- b) schooling and professional training prescribed for the individual jobs/
- c) whether the job considered is at an intermediate level or local governmental organ.

Paragraph 5

In the ministries and at organs of national authority:

- a) university (college) education is necessary for the performance of management activity directly related to the organ's basic activity, and secondary education for other management assignments;
- b) university (college) education is also necessary for case handling assignments directly related to the basic activity, and secondary education for other case handling assignments.

Paragraph 6

At intermediate level governmental organs:

- a) university (college) education is required for management activity directly related to the organ's basic activity, and secondary education for other management activity;
- b) secondary school education is required for the performance of case handling job activities.

Paragraph 7

At local governmental organs:

- a) the organ's manager and his assistant should have university (college) education;
- b) secondary school education is required for the performance of other management jobs and for the case handling assignments.

Paragraph 8

(1) The minister (administrator of organ of national authority) may prescribe higher level or intermediate level professional training and course training (examination) for specific areas of work activity, particularly if school education does not prepare one for accomplishing the job. These prescriptions must be in harmony with the regulations regarding school education required for the performance of the specific jobs.

(2) In determining the professional training requirements for workers in professional areas differing from the organ's basic activity, those regulations which are determined by the minister (administrator of organ of national authority) concerned with the activity in question must be appropriately applied.

Paragraph 9

To perform management work, the minister (administrator of organ of national authority) may prescribe professional practice, differing according to the area of activity.

Paragraph 10

The minister (administrator of organ of national authority) may expand the requirements prescribed for those in certain management positions to include those in other management positions, and also the case handlers, if the character of the organ's or organizational unit's activity makes it necessary.

Dispensation from the Requirements; Acceptance of Training

Paragraph 11

(1) In the case of a woman who has not yet completed her 40th year of life and a man who has not yet completed his 45th year, the person making the appointment may authorize a dispensation at the time of making the appointment from the training requirements for the period of time necessary to acquire the training, but not to exceed 6 years.

(2) A woman who has completed her 40th year of life and a man who has completed his 45th cannot be compelled to participate in training patterned after the school system. The minister (administrator of organ of national authority) may issue differing orders in this matter in the individual professional areas.

(3) If the manager (case handler) did not obtain the training due to his/her own fault during the time allotted by the dispensation, he/she must be placed into a job activity commensurate with his/her training.

Paragraph 12

The person making the appointment may accept the manager's (case handler's):

- a) political training, taking into consideration knowledge obtained outside the framework of organized training;
- b) professional preparation, taking into consideration knowledge obtained by non-school type training and by experience.

Paragraph 13

With respect to an employee in a management position, as well as a case handler, employed at the time this order becomes effective, the person with appointive authority may give a dispensation from the training requirements, if this is justified by the worker's having at least 10 years of professional practice, by knowledge acquired by a non-school system type of education, by age or other personal circumstances.

Paragraph 14

The person with appointive authority makes a determination about the dispensation from training requirements and about the acceptance of professional or political training which must be kept with the personal records of the worker affected.

Closing Orders

Paragraph 15

The minister of interior; the minister of defense; with respect to the organization charged with the carrying out of penalties, the minister of justice and, with respect to the customs and financial police, the minister of finance are authorized to establish the training requirements at the governmental organizations under their respective jurisdictions, on the basis of the present order.

Paragraph 16

This order will become effective on 1 January 1978. The ministers (administrators of organs of national authority) should issue the orders necessary for implementation by that time, or should modify their orders already issued, as necessary.

[Signed] Gyorgy Lazar, President, Council of Ministers

8584

CSO: 2500

STEFANOWICZ COMMENTS ON BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHE in Polish No 175, 8 Aug 77 p 1

[Article by STEF. (Janusz Stefanowicz)]

[Text] After 7 weeks of uncommonly intensive and difficult work--in the final period mostly informal--the preparatory meeting in Belgrade ended with unanimous acceptance of a document which specifies the opening date, agenda, and duration of the main meeting. As it is known, it will begin in the capital of Yugoslavia on 4 October and will last until 22 December, and in case of necessity will be continued from the middle of January to the middle of February 1978. A comparatively few plenary sessions (19 are anticipated) will support the work of the five commissions appointed for the individual groups of topics which correspond to the division of the Final Act in Helsinki; taken together, they will hold 78 meetings.

So much for the statistics. The reader not professionally occupying himself with the problems of diplomacy can ask why, for the sake of such concise decisions, superficially of a purely organizational nature, seven weeks were wasted, and at that in an atmosphere of frequently emphatic confrontation.

As we wrote several weeks ago, in a period of multilateral diplomacy, the agenda of a conference has become a substantive matter of frequently primary importance. This applies particularly to Belgrade, since basic differences in the way of looking at the role and function of the first post-Helsinki meeting entered into the situation, and therefore, indirectly, into the way of looking at the state and prospects of detente in Europe.

If we pass over countless disputes and procedural puzzles, partly put forth at certain stages for tactical and bargaining purposes, one basic divergence weighed on the preparatory meeting: is Belgrade 77 to be an accounting event--which the West wanted, or whether the participants, starting out with an exchange of views on the realization of Helsinki over 2 years, should concentrate above all on laying out further methods and steps conducive to detente. The socialist countries argued this way from the start, with the strong support, after all, of the text of the relevant article of the Final Act.

This dispute in the first half of the preparatory meeting was reflected especially in the discussion about the mode of expressing that point of order of the main meeting which pertained to the principal topic for discussion. The question was whether the past or the future would dominate. (The formulation which was finally achieved prefers the latter.) Next, it was complicated by the search for compromises by means of creating additional conference organs. In the end, it took the form of a sharp battle about the duration of Belgrade 77, at which the Western countries desired an unlimited duration formula (so as to have time to "air" problems convenient for themselves), and the socialist countries declared themselves for a fixed duration, whereas the neutral and non-aligned countries proposed different variants of intermediate solutions. Finally, thanks to the flexibility shown by the delegation of the USSR and the cooperation of certain Western countries, the Spanish project was agreed upon, which provided for the initially submitted solution. It is true, attempts were made to improve various phrases, but in the end everyone discovered that they were in a vicious circle.

By way of synthesis, one can draw three conclusions from the preparatory meeting:

1. The West initially determined to be firm, which it did at the cost of its internal cohesion (clear differences between the uncompromising position of England, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, and, for a certain time, the USA, and the conciliatory--especially at the end--position of the FRG and a number of other countries). This tactic did not bring about the anticipated results, since the document reflects only some of the initial demands of the West.
2. As in Geneva (the working phase of CSCE), the neutral and nonaligned countries played the role of a mediator, albeit a not overly effective one. On the other hand, the role of the "nine" of the EEC as a "team" was reduced because of the divergences mentioned above.
3. It is likely that the main meeting will be a repetition--maybe even in sharper form--of the established political pattern of the deliberations just ended: difficult discussions, moments of impasse, finally a tediously worked out "consensus" concerning further progress in the policy of detente.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

NEW ENCYCLOPEDIA DEFINES PERSONALITY CULT, CEAUSESCU DOCTRINE

Bucharest MICA ENCICLOPEDIA DE POLITOLOGIE in Romanian 1977 signed to press
24 Mar 77

[Entries from the book MICA ENCICLOPEDIA DE POLITOLOGIE by scientific coordinators Dr Ovidiu Trasnea and Dr Nicolae Kallos, published by the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 32,000 copies, 493]

[pp 111-112]

[Text] Cult of the Personality--(Lat. cultus, derived from colere "to cultivate, to honor"). A concept which attributes to a person (or persons) the primary and determining role in the carrying out of the social and historical evolution, minimalizing, at the same time, the historical role played by the popular masses--a theory incompatible with the principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Marx and Engels warned against the dangers of certain tendencies of the cult of the personality in the workers' movement and the danger that it represents. Our philosophy, recognizing the role of the great, progressive, historical personalities, firmly condemns the cult of the personality, from a theoretical point of view, as an idealistic concept and a profoundly damaging practice for the interests of the workers' movement, socialism and social progress. The term, itself, does not exactly express the entire complex of economic, social, political, ethical and ideological problems and so forth, to which it refers. An important role in the denunciation of the cult of the personality was played by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956). Renown Marxists, including Palmiro Togliatti, Lukacs Gyorgy and others, were of the opinion that the criticisms made at the congress, regarding the cult of the personality, represented an historically significant event but that it was also, merely a necessary beginning which, in itself, did not go beyond the framework of psychological and moral analysis and which did not dig down to its structural, economic and sociological foundations. In our country, important aspects of certain characteristic practices of the cult of the personality era in the realm of relations between states and parties were denounced in the April 1964 Declaration regarding the position of the Romanian Communist Party in the problems of the international communist and workers' movement. The 11th congress of the party inaugurated a new stage in the life of the party and the country, which is characterized by the creation of social, political, organizational and

ideological conditions designed to avoid in the future the repetition of the mistakes made in the past. In this sense, the April 1968 plenary session of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee was of special importance. The consistent concern for the broadening, deepening and improvement of socialist democracy; the respect for the fundamental principles and ideals of socialism, both internally and externally; the promotion of the principle of collective leadership; the permanent dialogue between the party and the people; the training of the masses in the activities of leadership and adopting decisions and achieving these decisions represent proof of the consistently Marxist-Leninist and creative, scientific policies of our party. Considering that in the future the activity of the political leaders will also play an important role in the party's activities and in the fulfillment of its mission in society, the RCP program stresses that this contribution of the political personalities to the progress of society is conditioned by the degree in which they identify with the ideals of the masses and the interests of the nation. The leaders and historical personalities can be affirmed only in close relationship with the popular masses, working with all their strength for the cause of liberty, welfare and happiness of the masses and for progress and the ideals of socialism and communism. (N.K.)

[pp 136-145]

[Text] Ceausescu Doctrine--a term which international public opinion applies to the political concept of the Romanian Communist Party and Romanian socialist state, of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, an eminent politician and statesman, an outstanding personality in international political affairs. Given the unitary character of this concept, which embraces to an equal degree both internal and international policies, the term, in fact, refers to both components of this unitary policy: "In our entire activity, we begin with the fact that there is a close dialectical unity between the internal policy and foreign policy of the party and state, with these two aspects harmoniously combining and reciprocally acting upon themselves." (Nicolae Ceausescu) Beginning with the authentic character of Marxism--a harmonious concept regarding the world, society and man--and through antidogmatic excellence and receptivity to new things determined by the Ceausescu Doctrine postulates and achieves its creative development, elaborating answers to new, specific problems of the contemporary era, characterized by social and structural national transformations and, at the same time, by an impetuous scientific and technical revolution. The theoretical concept of the Ceausescu Doctrine represents an original, daring and rebellious way of thinking, compared to any type of isolated and dogmatic thinking. It is receptive to new things and has a living dialectic mobility, is steadfastly party oriented, intransigent towards the bourgeois ideology and expresses creative Marxism as applied to the concrete conditions of Romania and the contemporary world. It is based on a political, innovative philosophy which, in the spirit of authentic Marxism and revolutionary humanism, establishes a new hierarchy of values, which correspond to the objective social tendencies and political and ethical needs of the contemporary era. The Ceausescu Doctrine thus values, in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, the best traditions of Romanian sociopolitical thought, raising it to a higher level. As expressed in key reports, speeches,

studies, articles and interviews, as well as in official political documents and in joint solemn declarations signed with the leaders of numerous countries, the Ceausescu Doctrine finds its greatest material source in the Romanian Communist Party's Program of Forging a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Towards Communism, in whose elaboration the secretary general of the party played a decisive role, making contributions of inestimable value to its theoretical basis. The spirit which characterizes this historical document is one which he himself defined as being the essential factor itself of a consistently Marxist-Leninist party: "To be revolutionary and to be a communist means being the bold explorer of the new, always looking ahead towards that which is developing, boldly thinking on the basis of revolutionary experiences of the masses and working for the unification of their efforts for the purpose of revolutionarily transforming society." This spirit is refound in the synthesis of the multicentury historical experiences of the Romanian people and its social and political history from the time of its conception to our times, in the generalization of the fruitful experiences of the years of heroic socialist construction in our country, in the historical generalization of the experience of socialism throughout the world, in the characterization of the contemporary era and its fundamental traits, in the treatment of the vital economic, social and political problems of the contemporary world and in the clairvoyant prediction of the path of socialist Romania towards communism. The capacity to generalize past history and the present is combined with the power of precision, lucid scrutiny and deciphering of the present reality and the trends of future developments in Romanian society and the international system. Thus, the program unites generalization and theoretic exploration and the rigors of scientific analysis with revolutionary enthusiasm. It ties together the past, the present and the future into a dialectic vision which highly values and intensifies the explicative and orientative force of Marxism-Leninism. Its theses have great theoretical and practical significance, both for our party and for the cause of socialism in general. They represent a vigorous and current contribution of the RCP and its secretary general to the creative enrichment of contemporary revolutionary theory and practice, having international importance. In light of the Marxist theses regarding the dialectic relationship between the general and the particular and the national and the international, realizing the historical limits and qualitative definition of the stages traversed by the revolutionary process in our country, the program establishes the general strategy of the party in the new historical stage and its fundamental purposes, explaining at the same time the directions in which it will work in order to fulfill these purposes. This, then, is the formula of the analytical and operational concept of a multilaterally developed socialist society, an essential contribution to the development of scientific socialism. The specific traits of the new stage are revealed as an all encompassing process which embraces, in their dialectical interdependence, the problems of developing and modernizing the technicomaterial base of the country, the problems of improving socioeconomic relations, leadership and organization of society and, at the same time, the problems of education and the creation of the new man. Among the defining coordinates of this process, there can be noted: the intensive development of the forces of production through the broad, higher use and rapid incorporation of scientific and technical advances as a primary factor in the general progress which justifies the option of maintaining a high rate of in-

vestments; the multilateral and harmonious development of all regions and counties of the country, all branches of the national economy and all spheres of social activity on the basis of a correlation which ties them together in their structural unity and in the dynamics of their ascending movement; the unitary, coordinated and planned development of socioeconomic life for the purpose of satisfying the demands of life of the workers at the level of modern civilization; the achievement of the fullest possible concordance between the forces of production and the social and production relationships; the consistent introduction of socialist principles in the organization and operation of social affairs--with a balance between the individual and society--in interpersonal relations and the ensuring of these relationships, and in the future, with communist principles; the increasing homogenization of society through changes in the social structure, with the accent upon the process of the disappearance of essential differences between physical labor and intellectual work, between the village and the city and through the general increase in the level of training and awareness of the masses; the development of socialist democracy; the equalization of the level of development of our country with the level of the advanced socialist countries from an economic point of view: Romania's approach to the level of the developed industrial nations of the world, the increase in Romania's active participation in the international division of labor and in the world trade of material and scientific-cultural things of value and the raising of the general level of material and spiritual life of the people. This process validates, on new bases, the Marxist concept of general progress and the fundamental criteria of progress, the particularities of socialist progress as a new type of progress and the necessary unity and interdependence of the progress of the different levels of the social system within the framework of general progress. At the same time, it reveals the essential factors which operate as a motive and propelling force for multilateral and accelerated progress: the improvement of leadership and the scientific organization of society; the growth of the role of the party as a leading political force of the state; the development of socialist democracy as an essential factor and objective necessity in the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society and the raising of the socialist awareness of the masses. An important contribution to the development of the theory and practice of building socialism is found in the theses regarding the role of the political factor (system) in the new stage, and, with special consideration given to the leading role of the party in the future, of its more organic integration in the life of society. Likewise, the innovative manner in which an analysis is being made of the increasing role of the state in the scientific organization of all socioeconomic activities and the dynamics of its internal and external functions is also an important contribution. The concept regarding socialist democracy occupies a central position in the system of the Ceausescu Doctrine. It is understood as the real, effective participation of the masses in the leadership of public affairs and, concomitently, as a plenary affirmation of the human personality in the life of society. From this standpoint, one sees the indissoluble bond between the improvement of socialist democracy and the development of socialist awareness which implies, in the RCP concept, both raising the level of training and competence of the workers and broadening their horizons of knowledge, as well as raising their ideological and political level of awareness and developing their moral awareness.

Strongly original concepts are presented in the context and basis of the party's ideological program and in the elaboration of the Code of Principles and Norms for the Work and Life of Communists and Socialist Ethics and Equality, which brings to light the important policy of the ethical dimensions of individual and collective behavior in the current historical stage. The promotion of man as a supreme value is reflected in the elaboration of the concept of revolutionary humanism which assumes the realization of personal happiness in the context of creating happiness for all the people. Similarly, an original contribution is represented by the solution given to the contemporary demands to concomitantly provide the social leadership with the higher use of the advances of the scientific and technical revolution and the satisfaction of the needs of socialist democracy through the generalized institutionalization of the principles of collective leadership and work, capable of combining the scientific style of decisionmaking with the broader and effective participation of the masses in the leadership of society at all levels and in all sectors of socioeconomic activity. An innovative and profoundly dialectical vision can also be found in the concept regarding the integration of scientific research with education and social practices. A special place in the Ceausescu Doctrine concerns the problem of nations in general and the socialist nations and relations among nations in particular, beginning with the fact that both in the present and the future the nation and national state will play a role of great significance, with the strengthening of the nation and the independent national state constituting a legal and objective necessity. In this regard, the Marxist-Leninist policy of the party is of exemplary value in the consistent resolution of the national state problem, in all of the areas to which it refers. From this standpoint it also deals with the promotion of certain consistent Marxist-Leninist concepts and practices in the problem of relationships between the development of the socialist nation and proletarian internationalism and between patriotism and socialist internationalism. Beginning with the persistent danger of war in the current structure of the international system, the Ceausescu Doctrine contains and develops its own doctrine of military strategy, which plans and realizes the socialization of defense at the level of the entire population and the mobilization, in a unitary effort, of all the material and moral capacities of our people for the purpose of defending their revolutionary advances and the independence and sovereignty of the country. It calls for the strengthening of the army's capacity to fight, the improvement of the activities of the patriotic guards and detachments of young people and the training of all citizens of the country in defense. The creative and prospective theoretical force of the Ceausescu Doctrine is clearly expressed in the elaboration of the fundamental principles of moving towards the communist society of the future: by presenting the dialectical relationship between socialism and communism and by outlining the principles and methods of the operation of communist self-leadership which enriches Marxist theory with new elements regarding policy and general concepts on the future communist society. In the Ceausescu Doctrine, the complex problems of the development of the Romanian socialist society are considered in the context of their dialectic bond with the trends and needs of the evolution of the international system. Beginning with the rigorous scientific analysis of the ample, revolutionary, national and social transformations--which have taken place in the world and which have produced deep changes in the balance of world forces through the

ever more forceful affirmation of the broad popular masses and the people in the determination of the course of international politics--president Nicolae Ceausescu has drawn conclusions of theoretical and materially, decisively practical political importance through an active and dynamic foreign policy, which has propelled Romania's presence into the discussion and solution of all the vital problems of mankind. Elaborating the thesis regarding the characteristics of the new phase of the crisis of the capitalist system, which comprises all spheres of social activity and which affects, to a greater or smaller degree, all countries, the president of socialist Romania emphasizes that the old domestic and international relationships created by the capitalist system and imperialist policies no longer correspond to the current stage of development of mankind and no longer can offer appropriate solutions to the complex problems which now concern the people and all contemporary mankind. "The course of events demonstrates that, just as on the national level the relationships of inequality and exploitation generated by a society divided into antagonistic classes must inevitably be eliminated, so it must be on the international scale that there will be an inevitable replacement of the old relationships of domination and oppression with relationships based on equality and the right of each people to be the full masters of their destiny, to create their lives as they wish and to cooperate in peace and understanding with other countries and peoples." (Nicolae Ceausescu) The division of the world into countries with different social orders--into countries which are building socialist and communist societies, into developing nations which are on the road to independent economic and social revitalization and into developed capitalist countries--is one of the characteristic traits of the contemporary era which will continue to dominate international relations for a long period of time yet. This situation means that the broaching of all the complex problems of world politics must begin with the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and from the necessity of actively cooperating with all the states for the purpose of resolving the problems in a new spirit of respect for the rights of each people to choose their own path of development corresponding to their own interests and to forge their own destiny freely and independently, without any foreign interference. Under these conditions, it is necessary to intensify the efforts to strengthen all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialistic forces and to mobilize the energies of all peoples in the struggle for the promotion of a new policy in international affairs for the consolidation and development of the course towards detente and cooperation and for the peaceful solution, through negotiations, of litigations between states and of all the great problems upon which peace and the progress of contemporary humanity depends. In light of these considerations, beginning with the vital interests of the Romanian people and the general cause of peace and detente and keeping in mind the imperatives of the world today, socialist Romania is carrying out a broad and intense international activity and is firmly militating for a policy of collaboration and understanding among nations. According attention of the first order to the development of friendly relations, multilateral cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries in the spirit of equality, mutual advantage and comradely assistance, Romania feels that the strengthening of cooperation between countries which are building the new social order has a fundamental importance for the growth of the general force of socialism and its influence and prestige on an international scale. Romania is increasing its ties

of solidarity and cooperation with the countries which have recently won their independence and have set out on the road of free development independently. At the same time, our country is developing its economic and technoscientific relations and other fields with the developed capitalist countries. "As the basis of its international relations and rapport with other states, Romania places the firm principle of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and denunciation of the use and the threat of force. Romania has militated and continues to militate for the promotion of these principles and their firm application in international affairs and for their general use in relations between all states." (Cicolae Ceausescu) The Ceausescu Doctrine--in conformity with the objective legality itself of contemporary sociohistorical development--considers the concepts of sovereignty and independence as truly key concepts and understanding and respect as concepts upon which the promotion of a policy conforming to the objective demands of contemporary progress depends. At the same time, it stresses that the principle of sovereignty is universally valid and the same for all states, regardless of size or social order and that it cannot be conceived in any way other than in a single sense and in no way can it be applied or interpreted in a different manner toward one country or another. "We feel that the socialist countries have a high, historical responsibility in the struggle for the promotion of these principles in international affairs and in the realization, both among themselves and on an international scale, of a new type of relationship, of a higher nature, of full equality of rights--which will solidify, in a shining manner, the advanced principles of international law and offer to all the people a model and a bright perspective for the future evolution of free and equal cooperation among themselves." (Nicolae Ceausescu). One of the vital problems in which the Ceausescu Doctrine has consistently and constructively affirmed itself--launching fruitful concepts and initiatives--is the strengthening of security and cooperation on the European continent. Romania's active contribution--unanimously appreciated in the preparation of the different phases of the general european conference [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]--materialized in the principles adopted in the Final Act of the conference. Considering the fact that this document has a unitary character, the socialist Romanian state is consistently and firmly militating to move on to practical and concrete measures for carrying out military disengagement; for stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament in Europe; for the materialization of understanding regarding the development of economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other relations on both a bilateral and multilateral scale and for the affirmation of a new humanism--both in the sphere of national social and cultural affairs and in relations between states--which will give man and his welfare, dignity and happiness first consideration. One of the fundamental problems of the contemporary era upon which detente, peace and international cooperation directly depend is the elimination of underdevelopment and the giant gap which separates the poor and poorly developed countries from the group of rich and powerfully developed countries. "Just as on the national level the exploitation and oppression and the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a certain class leads to the sharpening of social contradictions, to the intensification of the struggle of those who are dominated and exploited and, objectively, to the elimination of those relationships and to the creation of a more just world, so it is also on the international level, where in-

equality and oppression eventually lead to the sharpening of contradictions between states and to the appearance of certain grave conflicts between them. In order to avoid certain conflicts which can become violent, it is necessary for the old type of interstate relations to be changed and replaced by a new policy based on the full equality of rights between all the states of the world. This is an axiom of social development, both on the national level and on the international level, a process determined by the dialectics of social and historical development themselves." (Nicolae Ceausescu) With regards to the need to establish a new international economic and political order--an expression of a new political philosophy regarding international relations--the Ceausescu Doctrine has acquired a broad recognition and audience in the widest circles of contemporary political and scientific affairs. The Romanian point of view--materialized in official political documents--feels that the establishment of a new order must begin with, first of all, the total elimination of policies of inequality, domination and oppression of certain people by others and of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. The new order demands that new relations be established in the world based on full equality of rights among all nations and on respect for the right of each people to be full masters of their national wealth and to choose freely their own path of socio-economic development, without any foreign interference. It calls for the rapid elimination of the differences between states--through both the efforts of the underdeveloped countries and the broadening of equitable international cooperation, as well as through the contributions of the rich countries, which robbed the current poor countries; the judicious resolution of the problems of raw materials and energy; the ensuring of a just balance between the prices for raw materials and the prices for industrial products and of an appropriate correlation between these prices and the prices for agricultural products; the urgent resolution of the world food crisis; the creation of conditions so that all states can benefit, within the framework of international cooperation, from the advances of modern science and technology; the elimination of artificial barriers and the causes of discrimination which limit free trade and equal cooperation between nations and the creation of an international monetary system which will permit the normal and equitable carrying out of trade and economic cooperation. The carrying out of this new economic order is a global problem, not one just for a group of underdeveloped countries, upon which stability and harmonious and equitable development of the entire world economy depends. It must lead to the change of the current structure of the international system. In the Ceausescu Doctrine's view, one of the burning problems, of a vital nature, of the current international situation is the carrying out of general disarmament and, first of all, of nuclear disarmament. While revealing the evil consequences of the arms race in all areas of social, national and international life, Romania has proposed--and in an official document--a concrete disarmament plan beginning with the responsibility that each state, especially the large states possessing nuclear arms, has for the fate of peace and security and for the very existence of human civilization itself. "Mankind will judge the activities of each government, of each state and each political leader, not by their words, but by their deeds and the energy with which they militated for the liberation of the people from the burden of military expenditures and the nightmare of a destructive new world war and for the achievement of a world of peace and security and well-being and happiness for all people." (Nicolae

Ceausescu) Similarly, the Ceausescu Doctrine reveals that the resolution of the problems which today concern mankind demands the active participation of all states in international affairs, regardless of size, social order or geographic location, so as to ensure a broad democratization of international relations, in order to find the most appropriate forms to resolve these problems jointly through the cooperation of all nations and through negotiations and agreements. Beginning with the idea that the United Nations has to play the most important role, since it offers the most adequate organizational framework for the broad and democratic discussion of problems and for the active participation in their resolution and in all international affairs by all states, Romania has constantly spoken out for the improvement of the activities of the United Nations and for the strengthening of its role in the development of cooperation between nations, in the promotion of a new politics, in the respect for the principles of international law and in the creation of a better and more just world. To accomplish this, it is necessary for the United Nations to more appropriately reflect in its activities and structure the great changes that have occurred in the world. In this spirit, Romania has presented proposals for the improvement of its structure, its organizational framework and of the styles and methods of work so that it becomes possible to more promptly and efficiently [brings about]; the raising of major problems of international life, the equitable resolution of these problems through negotiations, the consistent application of the adopted decisions and resolutions in practice, the cessation of conflicts, the avoidance of disagreements and military conflicts and the consolidation of world trust and security. In the spirit of the requirements formulated by Marx, who noted that "the simple laws of morals and equity, which must regulate the relations between individual persons, have to become the supreme laws in relations between states," socialist Romania has proposed the elaboration and adoption of a Code of Conduct with a universal nature which could constitute a happy completion of the United Nations Charter, bringing together the vast experience accumulated in the postwar period in the efforts to establish certain new relations based on the spirit of rights and equality, of respect and trust between nations. In this code, a new philosophy and a new ethics for international relations is affirmed--an integral part of the Ceausescu Doctrine. In this sense, modifications must be made to the United Nations Charter for it to become an effective charter for the liberation and independence of the people and for the fundamental rights of states and man, in order to ensure the uninterrupted affirmation of each nation on the path of progress and civilization and international cooperation and peace. In the authentic spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the Ceausescu Doctrine considers it necessary to disestablish secret diplomacy, ensuring that all negotiations are carried out openly, before the people, and the publication of the complete texts of all treaties and agreements. There must be respect and full trust in the capacity of the people to fairly judge international deeds and events, to distinguish that which is in their interests from that which is not and to work for the defense of sacred right to a free and respectable life and for the promotion of trust and cooperation between nations. "In the age in which we live and which is governed by the world's great technioscientific revolution, by giant processes of national and social liberation of people and by the unprecedented growth of the progressive and democratic forces, there is also an imperative demand for the promotion of a new international politics that is

truly revolutionary, that will radically change the relations between states and world political principles and that will establish justice, equality, peace and cooperation on our planet." (Nicolae Ceausescu) The Ceausescu Doctrine emphasizes the special role in this process played by the communist and workers' parties and the other progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. This is the basis of the RCP policy of continually strengthening its relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity with the communist and workers' parties throughout the entire world and of intensifying its cooperative relations with the socialist and social-democrat parties, with the government parties of the developing nations and with other parties and revolutionary, progressive and democratic organizations in the interest of reinforcing the world revolutionary process and of consolidating the internationalist solidarity in the struggle for social progress and peace. "The demands of progress and peace imperatively call for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of all these forces and for their active cooperation in the promotion of the advanced ideals and aspirations of all the people." (Nicolae Ceausescu) Revealing the constant efforts of the RCP for the increase of its contributions to the strengthening of the solidarity of the international communist and workers' movement, the Ceausescu Doctrine calls for the realization of a new type of unity between the communist and workers' parties, beginning with the diversity of historical, social and political conditions under which these parties carry out their activities and with the respect for the right of each party to establish independently its own political line, strategy and revolutionary tactics and to deal with the problems of the revolution and socialist construction. The Ceausescu Doctrine thus embraces the entire range of problems facing the Romanian society and the contemporary world, offering new, courageous and innovative solutions based on the profound dialectic analysis of reality and illustrating the high degree of responsibility of the president of Romania for the present and future of his own country as well as for the destiny of all mankind. It represents a source of inspiration and an invaluable guide for social and political science and for their continuing creative development. The Ceausescu Doctrine, at the same time, constitutes a shining example of putting Marxist thought and political practice and the high virtues of the Romanian people to work building a better and more just world. The works of president Nicolae Ceausescu are being translated in a growing number of countries, regardless of their social order, acquiring an ever broader recognition and admiration for their revolutionary and humanistic concepts and raising the political and moral prestige of socialist Romania to a level never before attained in the history of the country and the Romanian people. (O.T., N.K.)

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